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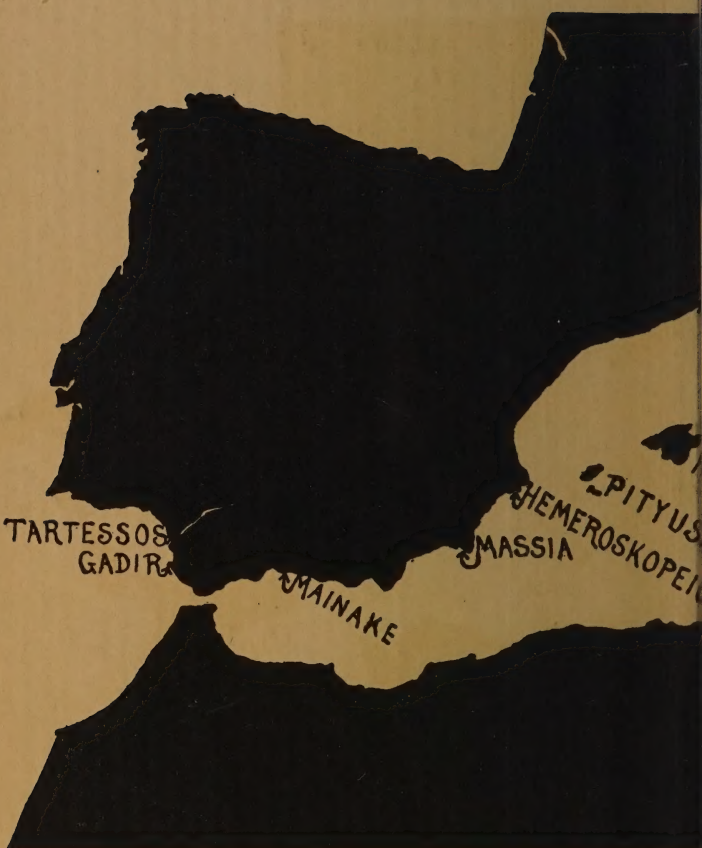
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1925

CYN MAWR NOTES

AND MONOGRAPHS

VI



TARTESSOS
GADIR

MAINAKE

MASSIA

HEMEROSKOPEI
PITYUS

Kyle M. Phillips, Jr.
Bryn Mawr College, 1962



BRYN MAWR NOTES
AND MONOGRAPHS

VI

THE GREEKS IN SPAIN

Hemeroskopeion



THE GREEKS IN SPAIN

By

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GREEKS IN SPAIN

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BRYN MAWR NOTES

VI

vi	THE GREEKS
	<p>οὔτε γὰρ χρυσός, οὐκ ἄργυρος, οὔδὲ δὴ χαλκός, οὔδὲ σίδηρος οὔδαμοῦ τῆς γῆς οὔτε τοσοῦτος οὔθ' οὕτως ἀγαθὸς ἐξήτασται γεννώμενος μέχρι νῦν.</p> <p>—Strabo III. ii. 8.</p>
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The Samians found Tartessos ἀκήρατος, a market untouched. I cannot assert the same. Schulten and Bosch have been before me in many regions, and my obligation to both these scholars is as deep as it is obvious. To Dr. Bosch I have also more personal acknowledgments to make, for friendship's sake and for material assistance in photographs and publications. I have also to thank Dr. Mélida of the Museo Arqueológico of Madrid for permission to photograph the three Santa Elena bronzes and to make a drawing of the fragment of Iberian moulding.

The connected account, the fitting of archaeological evidence with historical inference, the discovery of the Ionic statuettes among the Santa Elena bronzes, of the lost site of the Greek town of Hemeroskopeion, the stylistic parallels for Iberian pottery and Iberian sculpture, the stylistic arguments for the original Greek authorship of the Lady of Elche and the Asklepios of Ampurias—these I may fairly claim for my own contribution to the subject.

I have tried to make readable a piece of documented archaeological investigation. For this reason there is some discrepancy of style between text and commentary, since for the latter I have assumed the professional eye of my archaeological colleagues and for the former the attention of the more general reader of ancient history, who may (I hope) find the body of the book worth his time for the picture which it presents of Phocæan activities in the West. May neither public take too seriously my opening chapter on "Legend," or embroil me in views on Homeric geography of which I am guiltless!

Like Posidonios, I hold to the ψεύσμα φοινικικόν. Being by training an Hellenic archaeologist, I can do no less. If this is a prejudice rather than a right principle, I hope that I may be forgiven, since, after all, I have been writing, not upon Phoenicians and Carthaginians, but upon Greeks in Spain.

*Bryn Mawr College
January, 1925*

IN SPAIN

1

I

LEGEND

FAR out to the West lay the fabulous land.

Already in the Homeric *Odyssey* it is apparent that the Greeks have heard of it, perhaps have begun to voyage to its rich mysterious shores. There is the country of the Laestrygons where the nights are short (as they were for the Tartessian ships that sailed to Brittany in search of tin) and the lands of fog where one goes down into the underworld (like the foggy mouth of the River Guadiana and the weird chthonic shrines of the Rio Tinto marshes beyond Tartessos). Tin and the amber of the Phoenicians are commonplaces of the Homeric world; and the stream of Ocean and the western trade-wind are familiar.

Od. x. 86

xi. 13 ff.

iv. 567

A little later, Hesiod is full of Hesperian echoes. Although (alas) it appears historically impossible that the orange trees of Spain, with their gorgeous fruit, bore those golden apples for which Herakles

AND MONOGRAPHS

VI

2	THE GREEKS
<p>Hes. Theog. 215-16</p> <p>287 ff.</p> <p>280 ff. 274-75</p>	<p>journeyed westward, yet Morocco or Spain must surely be that land where Atlas held the sky. Herakles himself is partly an Hesperian hero: he journeys in the bowl of the sun to the utmost West, and the straits from the Mediterranean out to the world-ocean are named for him. He slays Geryon and drives away the sacred kine from the Sun's western kingdom, as sea-men may already have tried to do in that Tartessian land where there were cattle dedicate to the god of the sky. The legend of Perseus becomes localised here in the West: the Gorgons live here (whoever they may be), and Andromeda's sea-monster is perhaps an echo from Atlantic voyages.¹</p> <p>Legends, like civilisation, marched westward in olden time. In the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. it was the Black Sea which used to be the place of high adventure for Milesian ships, and the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus were the dangerous gates upon the unknown. But whereas Jason sails east to the Caucasus, the heroes of the next generation sail westward. The Odyssey has ceased to heed the dangers of</p>
VI	BRYN MAWR NOTES

the Dardanelles passage and now tells its mariners' legends about the terrible Sicilian straits, makes an enchanted nymph's abode of some Mediterranean island of the West, tells of the idyllic life of the African oases with their datepalms (which it calls the country of the Lotos-eaters) and has heard vaguely of the land where the sungod keeps his cattle, and the shores of the foggy sea, and even (at uttermost distance) the northern lands of the short summer-nights.

And still as time went on and the nearer lands and seas became familiar and lost their terrors, the legends moved westward on the margin of the known. The Land of the Blest may once have been in Sicily; later for a time the Balearics may have been the Fortunate Isles before these came ashore still further west in Andalusia and at last were pushed out to the Canaries or the Cabo Verde Islands on the very verge of the utterly Unnavigable. The legend of Geryon was once localised in Epirus; but Greek mariners carried it west to Andalusia, just as they moved the mouth of the underworld away from the Bay of Naples

and the Cumaean shore to the Gulf of Cadiz. Much later, this was to pass to Land's End between Vigo and Coruña, where it was to live on into the Middle Ages as the place of souls that sat like winged birds in the misty tree of death.² And further west than that there was no land to travel.

In Pindar's time the voyage to Spain had already become thoroughly familiar: the fearful margin of the world had moved out to the high Atlantic. The mariners' reports of the sea beyond Gibraltar mightily impressed the poet, as did the Carthaginians' success in closing the straits to Greek vessels. Again and again⁶⁰ in the Odes Pindar recurs to the Pillars of Herakles as a symbol of the bourne beyond which men may not venture. This is good testimony that the Greeks of his day were sailing only as far as Malaga or Calpe and leaving the Atlantic coasting-trade in other hands.³

By the time of Plato the margin of the marvellous had faded beyond Spain. Atlantis is now the fabulous land, ill localised

and wisely lost forever. Already, long before Pindar or Plato, Spain had loomed clear out of the mist of legend. Familiarity had dispelled the mariners' yarns from the first heroic voyages, and historical record had put aside the barter and traffic in seaman's talk which had been passing from man to man as readily as once had passed Phoenician amber and tin through all the Middle Sea.

6	THE GREEKS
Hdt. iv. 152 (tr. Rawlin- son)	<p data-bbox="531 409 692 510" style="text-align: center;">II RECORD</p> <p data-bbox="288 534 935 1155">“A SAMIAN vessel, under the command of a man named Colaeus, on its way to Egypt was forced to put in at Platea. . . . They quitted the island; and, anxious to reach Egypt, made sail in that direction, but were carried out of their course by a gale of wind from the east. The storm not abating, they were driven past the pillars of Hercules, and at last, by some special guiding providence, reached Tartessus. This trading town was in those days a virgin port, unfrequented by the merchants. The Samians, in consequence, made by the return-voyage a profit greater than any Greeks before their day.”</p> <p data-bbox="282 1164 935 1365">Whatever we may choose to think of a storm that blows a Greek sailing-boat through 30 degrees of longitude, carrying it through the Carthaginian Strait and the Strait of Gibraltar without wrecking it on</p>
VI	BRYN MAWR NOTES

the Tunisian or the Spanish coast, there is no reason to doubt the underlying tradition that a Samian vessel reached Tartessos at some very early time. The Herodotean version would set the event in the middle of the seventh century, and actually there is no apparent reason why the first Samian voyage should not have antedated the year 630 B.C.

There is no historical statement that this exploit of Kolaïos was repeated immediately; but the rumour of Tartessos must have been rife among Greek mariners and the way to it now known and open to all. Another Ionic town, Phocaea, took over the opportunity of exploiting the new market in the West. A late Latin picture of her mariners is flattering at least to their energy and hardihood—*piscando, mercando, plerumque etiam latrocinio maris . . . vitam tolerabant*. Great on the sea from the last of the seventh century until the destruction of their town by Harpagus the Mede about 540 B.C., they were described by Herodotus as "the first of the Greeks who performed long voyages."

Justin
43.3

Hdt. i. 163
(Rawlin-
son)

"And it was they," he goes on to say, "who made the Greeks acquainted with the Adriatic and with Tyrrhenia, with Iberia, and the city of Tartessus. The vessel which they used in their voyages was not the round-built merchant-ship, but the long penteconter. On their arrival at Tartessus, the king of the country, whose name was Arganthonius, took a liking to them. This monarch reigned over the Tartessians for eighty years and lived to be a hundred and twenty years old. He regarded the Phocaeans with so much favour as, at first, to beg them to quit Ionia and settle in whatever part of his country they liked. Afterwards, finding that he could not prevail upon them to agree to this, and hearing that the Mede was growing great in their neighbourhood, he gave them money to build a wall about their town, and certainly he must have given it with a bountiful hand."

We may guess that Arganthonios' invitation to live in Spain was not wholly unsolicited, but that the Phocaeans, being already aware of the Medic danger, had

begun to debate the advisability of emigration. We do not know why they decided against it; but it is not surprising that they were unwilling to cut themselves off so utterly from their fellow Greeks by settling the Sevillian plain.

The episode must date from the middle years of the sixth century. By 540 B.C. (according to Herodotus) Arganthonios was dead, and the dreaded Cyrus had refused Ionian offers of submission. Thereafter Phocaea fell. A part of her inhabitants passed under the Persian yoke, the rest emigrated to Corsica to their colony of Alalia whence, after five years, the Etruscans drove them out. Thereupon they retired to the Greek lands of southern Italy, founded Velia, and there survived and prospered. But the road to Spain, for a time at least, seems to have been closed to their ships by their enemies, Etruria and Carthage.

The period of Phocæan trade in Spain lasted therefore less than a century—perhaps for precisely those eighty years during which the Phocæans knew the silver-man

Arganthonios (together with a like-named son and successor?) and so gave Herodotus his tradition of an eighty-year reign. Only a hundred years separate the traditional date of that first adventurous storm-bound voyage of the Samian Kolaïos from the date of the battle of Alalia when Etruscans and Carthaginians, though worsted by the Phocæan ships, succeeded in putting an end to Phocæan power in Corsica and the West. Perhaps, then, we shall be justified in putting the first period of Spanish trade at a round 80 years, from 620 to 540 B.C. But for all this period and those that followed thereon, when Massilia took over the Phocæan trade and had her tiny towns on the Spanish coast, there are no surviving records. There is no historian to tell us what these Greeks did in Spain. This whole page of exploration, commerce, and adventure, of contact between Greek and barbarian, always so fruitful and so interesting—this whole page of Greek colonial history is blank.

But a blank page was ever an incentive to authorship, and here there are archaeo-

logical means available to fill the missing chronicle. No one has yet succeeded in appreciating the tremendous influence of the Phocaeans ("who made the Greeks acquainted with Tyrrhenia") in shaping Etruscan art; but in Spain, which to a lesser degree these same Ionians opened up to Greek influences, their opportunities and their success were vastly less. For that reason a study of this latter field of the Greeks in Spain is a much less ambitious undertaking, a work for an idle year rather than for a scholar's lifetime. And this study I have ventured to attempt.

Hdt. i. 163

What follows, then, is all only inference, vitiated here and there no doubt by wrong conclusions, but not without a basis of evidence and a foundation in fact.

12	THE GREEKS
	<p>III</p> <p>INFERENCE</p> <p>I. THE VOYAGE TO TARTESSOS</p> <p>WE may imagine the old Phocaeen longships with their fifty-odd men for crew setting out from their city in the Bay of Smyrna from the land "where the air and climate are the most beautiful in the whole world; for no other region is equally blessed with Ionia, neither above it nor below it, nor east nor west of it." Across the Aegean with its island stepping-stones and around the southern capes of Greece the Phocaeans must have sailed by the western shores of Peloponnesus and Epirus northward until, above Corcyra, they crossed to the heel of Italy and so, in their second week of seafaring, passed through the Sicilian straits and still coasting a Grecian shore came to the Bay of Naples and to Cumae, the oldest Greek city in the West, and to Ischia, which they called "Monkey-Island," <i>Pithekussa</i>.</p>
Hdt. i. 142	
Map inside front cover	
VI	BRYN MAWR NOTES

These ancient place-names with an *-ussa* ending⁴ are perhaps of some importance as an indication of the presence of the early Greek voyagers. At the least, it is very striking that they form a perfect track from Italy to Spain. Given the old-time preference for hugging the shore and avoiding the shelterless unharvestable open sea, one would naturally think of this voyage to Spain as a coasting-trip, leading up the western shore of Italy, along the Riviera, and down the southeast coast of France; but if we follow the track of the *-ussa* names we shall find a different route leading over the great island-bridge of the western Mediterranean. For after the "Monkey-Island" of Ischia, *Pithekussa*, comes Sardinia "which the Greeks who sailed thither for trading called *Ichnussa*." The course from Ischia would have skirted the little group of the Ponza Islands and then struck across 160 miles of open water to the northeast coast of Sardinia. Here the land comes up, grey and inhospitable and apparently harbourless: more than seven hundred years after these Phocæan voyages Pau-

Paus.
x. 17. 1

Paus.
x. 17. 10
(tr. Frazer)

saniās was to write of it how "the northern side of the island and the side towards the Italian mainland are occupied by an unbroken chain of rugged mountains; and, as you coast along, there is no anchorage for ships in this part of the island, and from the tops of the mountains fitful and furious squalls come sweeping down to the sea." But the description is not quite accurate, since there are a couple of deep bays where ships may find shelter, and in one of these (the modern Terranova) lay the little settlement of Olbia, whose name seems sufficient warrant for calling it Greek and probably Phocæan. "Wenn Olbia auf Sardinien jemals griechisch gewesen ist, wird es von den Phokæern gegründet sein," says Eduard Meyer.

Gesch. d.
Alt.
II. p. 694. n.

Ionians and Carthaginians alike had put a covetous eye upon this, "the largest island in the world," as they erroneously judged it; but it is a mistake to imagine that in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. either of these peoples held it. No Punic objects of earlier date than the sixth century have been found on the island, and our first his-

torical evidence for Carthaginian aggression is Malchus' unsuccessful raid about 540 B.C. About that very time the wise Bias of Priene was advising the harassed Ionians "to join in one body, set sail for Sardinia, and there found a single Pan-Ionic city; so they would escape from slavery and rise to great fortune, being masters of the largest island in the world and exercising dominion even beyond its bounds; whereas if they stayed in Ionia, he saw no prospect of their ever recovering their lost freedom." Though his advice was not followed, the mere fact that it could be given at this time indicates that Sardinia was not then closed to Greek enterprise; and in earlier days the conditions would have been the same. Even as late as 494 B.C. Aristagoras of Miletus could still advise Ionian Greeks to settle in Sardinia.

Here, then, at Olbia on the north-eastern shore, the Phocaeans probably had a resting place and a refuge before they passed through the windy strait between Sardinia and Corsica where "the sea is studded with

Hdt. i. 170
(Rawlin-
son)

Hdt. v. 124

Frazer
Comm.
Paus.
ad. x. 17. 10

ugly and jagged rocks over which the waves break in foam," and from the island of Asinara and the Capo del Falcone at the extreme north-west of Sardinia set sail for two full days and nights of open sea, steering a little south of west till Menorca came up over the sea-line.

Shore to shore here is a good 200 miles and one may hesitate to believe that the Phocaean ships, fast and long as they were, ever ventured to come this way. Yet there are many arguments in favor of this route over the "island-bridge."

Paus.
x. 17. 5

In the first place, there is some evidence that the crossing from Spain to Sardinia was known from the earliest times. Pausanias has a tradition of an "Iberian" colonisation of Sardinia, for he says categorically that "the Iberians crossed into Sardinia, under the command of Norax, and founded a city Nora, *which tradition affirms to have been the earliest city in the island.*"⁶⁴ Although nothing very much can be based on such information, it is at least supported by the archaeological observation that Sardinia and the Balearic Islands had a

flourishing civilisation in the Bronze Age which contrasts strikingly with their poverty in the succeeding Iron Age,⁵ so that it is not improbable that the island-route to Spain was in operation in Minoan times and conferred prosperity upon these island way-stations.

Then, it should be noted that the old name for the western Mediterranean from Sardinia to Spain, north of about 38° latitude, was the "Sardinian Sea."⁶ This indicates not only the early importance of Sardinia but a clear knowledge of its position with reference to the lands to the west of it.

Next, as indication that the bridge was travelled by the Greeks, we have the track of *-ussa* names; for not only was Sardinia *Ichnussa*, but it is possible that Menorca and Mallorca were called *Melussa* and *Kromyussa*,⁷ and it is certain that the lesser Balearic islands were the *Pityussae* and Formentera was called *Ophiussa*. It is true that there is no evidence for Greek colonisation or settlement on these islands or commercial interest in them; but in that

Diodor.
v. 16

case it is hard to see why the Greeks were as familiar with them as they seem to have been, unless they passed them *en route* to Spain. It cannot, I think, be objected that these islands were held by the Phoenicians or Carthaginians, since there is no reason for dating the Punic expansion back of the later sixth century, except the very dubious testimony of Timaeus that Ibiza (Ebusus of the Pityussae) was colonised 160 years after the founding of Carthage. The archaeological evidence⁸ is ample for the period from the later sixth century on: for any earlier date it is, here as in Sardinia, so uncertain that I am led to look on the early Punic colonisation of these islands as a myth. The first great period of Carthaginian sea-power and colonial expansion comes in the sixty years between the sea-fights of Alalia and Cumae, or roughly 535–475 B.C.

And lastly, the journey by the island-bridge was not merely many days shorter than the coasting-trip around the top of the Mediterranean, but it took off from the Greek waters of Campania and avoided the Etruscan ships and the too-often hos-

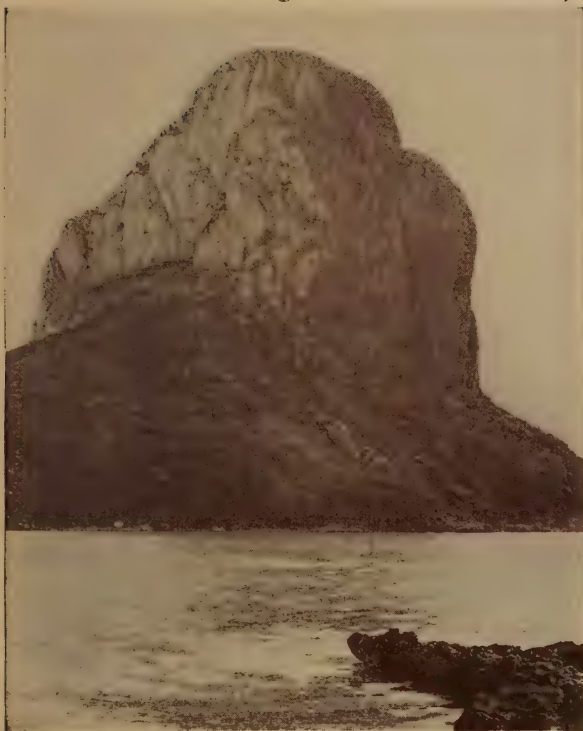
tile Etruscan shore. In fact, if the theory of the lateness of the Carthaginian expansion is correct, the island-bridge afforded the Phocaeans a safe passage between the hostile ward of Carthage and Etruria.

From Menorca it is not forty miles to Mallorca whose mountain-tops are from the first in plain sight; and from the islet of Cabrera off Mallorca's southern cape one can see, misty-clear against the west, Ibiza, last of the Balearic Islands. So by *Melussa* and *Kromyussa* and *Pityussa* the old Phocaeans steered their pentekonteres and there, from beside the last of these, caught sight at length of the mountain-shore of Spain.

As they neared, they beheld a coast-line of hundred-foot cliffs behind which a stretch of green undulating land ran back to higher hills. The headland is called to-day the Cape of the Ship, *Cabo de la Nao*, and offers no landing-place or harbour.⁵⁷ But south along the coast after eight or nine miles there is a sort of fishers' haven (now called Moraira) and then, a few miles further, comes a deep bay with a shingle beach and

See
Frontis-
piece

a stream of fresh water. At the end of the beach against the open sea, as though expressly reared for shelter, stands a gigantic isolated tower-like mountain of rock, a look-out post guarding the island-bridge. It is a wonderful watching-place over the sea. From the top of it I have seen north-eastward the peaks of Balearic Ibiza seventy miles away and south-westward the bays and shores and islets of the Spanish coast for almost as many miles in the other direction, beyond Cabo Santa Pola and the Isola Plana. Only the Spanish coast northward is completely hidden from sight by the hills and mountains of the Cabo de la Nao. What wonder that this marvellous lookout-post, like a second Gibraltar, a true pillar of Herakles, impressed the Phocaeans who drew up their ships behind its shelter; and what wonder that they gave it a picturesque name and called it the Watchtower, the Day-Warder, 'Ημεροσκοπεῖον? So, at least, one prefers to translate the word; but even if a prose-usage⁵³ suggests that the true force is better conveyed merely by "Lookout-post," it is



The "Watchtower" and South Bay



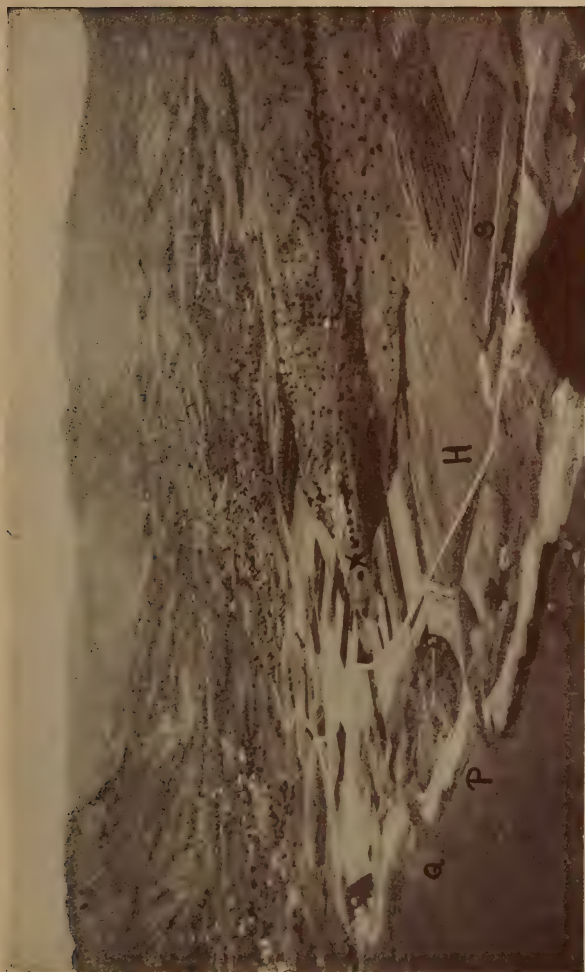
Quarries (?) of Hemeroskopeion

obvious that this great sheer thousand-foot tower explains the otherwise inexplicable name of the first Greek town in Spain.

My Frontispiece reproduces the great isolated mass of the "Watchtower" with the open sea beyond. In the middle distance, the deep harbor sweeps in behind the shelter of the tower and is fringed on the left by a low reef of rock backed by river-sand. Plate I gives a nearer view of the sheltered bay and the tower with its cliffs, while Plate II shows the character of the reef very clearly, with indications in the middle foreground of quarry-marks which may very well be ancient. Plate III reproduces a photograph which I took from the top of the "Tower," whose shadow shows as a dark half-moon on the lower rim. To the left of the shadow stretches the low reef which marks the shore-line with its shingle of sand and pebbles. Q marks the quarries of Plate II. At P a passage once led through the reef into a landlocked basin or inner harbor H. Passage and basin are to-day entirely silted up, except for a stretch of salt standing-water S which

1076 feet
(U. S. Navy
Hydro-
graphic)

22	THE GREEKS
<p>See Fig. 2 on p. 121</p>	<p>appears (rather like a stadium in shape) just above the peak's shadow; but one may guess their original shape and extent from the flat depression around H. At X on a slightly elevated tongue of rock there are indications to suggest the emplacement of a shrine or temple. On the slopes which lead up to the great Watchtower (on the left in the frontispiece; on the central skyline in Plate II) there are traces of Cyclopean walls and great quantities of broken potsherds lying from 2 to 6 feet below the surface of the soil and belonging to Hellenistic, Iberian, and late red-figure Attic ware (second to fifth centuries B.C.).</p> <p>Until the site has been excavated, this is all that can be said of Hemeroskopeion.</p> <p>No doubt, it was at first a mere shelter-station, a place for the Phocaeen ships to put in, before or after the 800-mile journey across the island-bridge to Cumae. That it ever had much importance as a trading-place and market is unlikely, as it lay in the territory of backward tribes, whence neither road nor river led to the mining regions. But as a shipping station, holding</p>
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The Site of Hemeroskopeion, from the Summit of Ifach

the bridge-head to South Italy, it must have steadily gained in importance as long as the bridge was used and the Phocæan ships traded with Tartessos.

The Watchtower to-day is called Punta de Ifach and the little Spanish town whose church and rooftops show in the frontispiece bears the remarkable name Calpe—remarkable, because Calpe was also the old indigenous name for Gibraltar and its recurrence here seems to bear testimony that the close resemblance between Ifach and Gibraltar had struck the ancient mind. It is disappointing that there is nothing to tell us what *Calpe* (or the native word back of the Hellenised form *Calpe*) may have signified.

My identification of the ancient Hemeroskopeion with Ifach has no authority. It is known that the old Phocæan town is to be sought in the neighbourhood of the Cabo de la Nao, but the very old mistake of identifying it with Dianium has until now prevented the true site from being found. As the question is complicated, yet important enough to justify discussion,

Appendix
I

I have treated it fully in an appendix and there have set out my reasons for holding that in Ifach I have discovered Hemeroskopeion.

Here, in the new land of the West, the Phocaeans must have felt a certain sense of home. Though they had left "the most beautiful air and climate in the world," they had come to a region almost equally limpid and delightful. Beyond Ifach the mountains rise like Ionian hills, grey but flecked and tinged with red, bathed in a truly Grecian clarity of light, above blue seas and against blue skies. Valencia is perhaps the most favored region climatically in Spain, with much the same temperature and seasons as Phocaea and the Bay of Smyrna. Unlike the bleak and inclement elevated interior of the Spanish peninsula or the richer and rainier lowlands of Andalusia, the soil and the climate here on the east coast are redolent of Greece. The treeless limestone slopes are covered with aromatic herbs that fill the air with their perfume of mint and thyme crushed underfoot. The clear skies are often rainless for

weeks at a time, and for days on end the steady winds tumble the blue seas into foam.

As one sails south from Ifach along the Spanish coast, the mountains recede inland; behind the fringe of sandy beaches spread plains, more and more fertile and stretching wider and wider away to the hills. This is to-day the province of Murcia. In the old day the kingdom of Tartessos extended eastward as far as this, though the inhabitants were Massians (or Mastians), allied and related to the Tartessians rather than true Tartessians themselves. Here, clearly, there were prosperous villages, ready to welcome Greek trade, Greek wine and Greek olives, a people not wholly insusceptible to Greek intelligence and Greek artistry, as I shall try to show later.⁵⁸ Then, as now, it must have been a rich land with a climate sunny and agreeable in winter and desperately hot in full summer. A modern description of the region (culled from a book whose wisdom is not to be despised by scholars) may deserve quotation here in full:

Baedeker's
Spain
pp. 281-82

The "reino serenísimo," the brightest, but at the same time one of the hottest regions in Europe, owes the scantiness of water-supply to its situation in the S E corner of the Iberian peninsula, where it is swept, not like the neighbouring Andalusia, by the moist W. wind from the Atlantic, but by the parching breath of the Sahara, scarcely alleviated by its short passage over the Mediterranean. The *Lebeche*, a S. wind resembling the scirocco, sometimes covers the entire vegetable world with a thick coat of dust within a few minutes. Men and animals overtaken by it sink exhausted to the ground. The *Calina*, a kind of heat-haze, gradually steals over the whole face of the heavens. Towards the middle of July the horizon is girdled with a narrow strip of a bluish-red or brownish colour, and in August the upper part of the firmament also assumes a leaden hue, across which the light of the stars glimmers feebly. The rising sun and moon shine red through this haze; mountains, trees, and buildings loom through it like spectres. Not till towards the close of September does the *calina* disappear.

The abnormal climate explains the other remarkable phenomena of this strange land. Among these are the treeless mountains; the sudden *avenidas* or floods, occasioned by heavy falls of rain at the sources of the rivers; and the extensive *despoblados*, or deserts of hill, moor, and salt-marsh, where nothing grows except esparto grass and saltwort. The few evergreen plants are used by the inhabitants as fuel, the only alternative being the dried dung of the domestic animals. The bulk of the country is occupied by the *despoblados*. Along with them may be mentioned the so-called *Secanos*, or "dry lands," where the want of rain in March, the "key of the year," often destroys the entire harvest. The February rains are too early; those of April find the sprouting grain already dried up and the vines scorched.

The whole agricultural wealth of the country is concentrated in the *Tierras de Regadio*, or irrigated districts. While the plateau of Albacete produces little but grain, wine, and olives, the beautiful huertas of Murcia, Totana, and Lorca are clothed with forests of orange-trees, lemon-trees, and date-palms.

Perhaps there were more trees in the ancient days, fewer fields and palm-groves, a somewhat cooler and more showery climate; but otherwise the description will serve as a background-setting for the passage of the Phocæan ships on their way to Tartessos.

As far as Cape Palos the course lies nearly south and then, 80 miles below Hemeroskopeion, turns abruptly west past a harbour-mouth which has always been a port and a stronghold. To-day it is called Cartagena, for centuries it was New Carthage; but in the Phocæan days, Phœnicians and Carthaginians had established themselves here as little as in the Balearic Islands or Sardinia. Indeed, at this time, it must still have been wholly "Iberian," the capital town of those Massians of whom I have just spoken, a town with high walls of Cyclopean masonry and next to Tartessos the most important place in Spain. Lead and iron may have contributed to its wealth even in those days, as perhaps did also that salting of fish which gave the town, if not glory, at least a certain dis-

creet fame during the *Pax Romana*; but the great source of prosperity was the silver which made southern Spain (one is tempted to say it in defiance of etymologies) the Eldorado of the ancient world.⁹

Yet we have certain evidence that the Phocaeans did not content themselves with this goal, but went westward along that marvellous southern shore of Spain where the coastal strip of lowland is narrow and scant, and the backing hills seen from the sea in the clear light seem to climb up in one sheer great wall to the crests of the Sierra Nevada. Here on this coast, not very far from the modern town of Malaga, the Phocaeans set "the furthest west of their towns," Mainake.¹⁰ Judging from the stray literary evidence, we are bidden to look for an alluvial plain by the mouth of a stream, opposite an island, some dozen miles to the east of modern Malaga; and in September, 1922, Schulten succeeded in finding a plausible location at the mouth of the River Velez where there probably was once an island in the river-mouth. But though it seems very likely that this

Strabo
III. iv. 2

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<p>Strabo (quoting Artemi- dorus? fl. ca. 100 B.C.)</p>	<p>is the site of the Roman Maenuba, which replaced the destroyed Greek town after an interval of many centuries, it is not quite certain that Mainake itself has thus been discovered, since the finds are wholly Roman and nothing Greek has yet turned up.</p> <p>As Malaga nearby was a rival "Phoenician" town, the destruction of Mainake was probably due to the Carthaginians, who were not likely to look with favour on Greek competition. The centuries have since healed the scar; but soon perhaps we shall find more exactly the place where the ruined little town lay desolate, and sift its soil for the tiny traces which will tell us its history. From the very start, its life must have been precarious; but as late as 530 B.C. it seems to have been still flourishing.¹¹ Centuries later, Strabo was to record of it that "it is now in ruins, though it still preserves the traces of a Greek city."</p> <p>From Mainake it was still two days' journey down to Gibraltar, through the Straits, and up the Spanish coast again, past Cadiz (the old Phoenician trading stronghold of Gadir) to the mouth of the Guadalquivir,</p>
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the "silver-rooted" river which floated down the silver cargoes from the Sierra Morena mines to the walled town at the river's mouth, Tartessos itself, the fabulously wealthy city of King Arganthonios.

Of this marvellous capital of the West we almost know a great deal and yet actually know nothing. No Greek description of it has survived, unless we count as such the empty words of Avienus (who does not know Tartessos from Gades) or the vague echoes and memories which cling to the accounts of Strabo and others of his kind. Schulten has recently written a fascinating book of ninety pages in which is to be found all that record, observation, and conjecture can piece together.¹² He has ventured to suggest that Tartessos may be an old Cretan colony (the name is redolent of Carian Asia Minor), and that silver and tin came thence to the Aegean world. However doubtful this may be, it is very generally admitted that Tartessos is the Tarshish of the Old Testament, whose testimony concerning it goes back as far as the eighth or seventh century B.C.¹³ It was a walled

Stesich.
Fr. 5

Avien.
268 ff.

Strabo
III. ii. 11

Strabo
III. ii. 13

"With silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded in thy fairs."

town inhabited by an unwarlike people who had no fear of the ocean, cruising to Brittany for tin and perhaps to Germany or the Netherlands for amber. All the wealth of the Andalusian silver mines contributed to its greatness. Tradition asserted for it a vast antiquity and an ancient literature of its own. Carthaginian trade-rivalry and greed destroyed it and rased its walls to the ground; the Carthaginian empire passed over it so potently that the very site of it became confused with that of its successor, the Phoenician Gades, and its empire could become "so utterly subject to the Phoenicians [*sc.* Carthaginians] that most of the cities of Tartessia and the nearby places became inhabited by these latter."¹⁴

In Tartessos the Phocaeans—like the Phoenicians, who had probably first come there fairly long before them—traded for silver and for tin; and because these metals were the object of their Spanish voyages, one would have imagined Tartessos their *ultima Thule*. And yet there is one tell-tale indication, an *-ussa* name, which sug-

gests that they occasionally fared still further and were familiar with the Portuguese coast as far as the mouth of the River Tagus below Lisbon; for Avienus gives us *Ophiussa* as the name of the cape (either Cabo Raso or Cabo da Roca) by the Tagus mouth.¹⁵ This is the last of the *-ussa* names: all that lay beyond was clearly unknown to the Phocaeans except by hearsay from the Tartessians who worked their ships up the Atlantic shore to Brittany (and perhaps Britain) for the tin which they re-sold to Phocaeans and Carthaginians.¹⁶

It was late in the seventh century, ⁵⁴ as we have seen, that the Phocaeans first came to Tartessos and bid against the Phoenician and Carthaginian merchants whose "Tarshish ships" put in at Gades. Before a hundred years were out, the Carthaginians gained a forcible upper-hand over their Ionian competitors. Following on the sea-fight off Alalia (535 B.C.) when Phocaean ships defeated the combined Etruscan and Carthaginian fleet at the cost of the virtual annihilation of their own navy, Carthage

34	THE GREEKS
<p>Polyb. III. 22. 4</p>	<p>seems to have taken measures against the Phocaeen traders in Spain. She succeeded (apparently) in shutting the Gibraltar Straits to Greek vessels, so that no more Phocaeen ships now reached Tartessos. But the Phocaeans still held their own trading-town of Mainake near Malaga and from here they perhaps organised pack-train caravans to Tartessos over a mountain-road,¹⁷ either across the rough Ronda hills or by the longer and easier route through Osuna and the Sevillian plain.</p> <p>Even this inconvenient make-shift seems to have been of short duration. Whether the famous "first treaty" between Carthage and Rome is to be dated in 509 B.C., whether the allies of Rome include the Masiliotes, whether the words "beyond the Fair Cape" have any application to Spanish coasting-voyages, are all difficult and perhaps insoluble questions: for Tartessian history the treaty had best be ignored, except as an indication of Carthaginian policy and Carthaginian power. But even without inference from this treaty, it seems certain that toward the end of the sixth cen-</p>
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tury the Phocaeans (now residing chiefly in Velia and Massilia) were wholly excluded from commerce with Tartessos. And now, or a little later, Tartessos itself was destroyed by the Carthaginians in order that Gades might take its place, and under this same policy of violent extermination Mainake must have given place to Malaga. So utterly did these two towns vanish from sight that later writers could believe that Tartessos was one and the same as Gades, and Strabo could correct his contemporaries for identifying Phocaeen Mainake with Phoenician Malaga.

Strabo
III. iv. 2

Whether they willed or no, the Greeks had to accept their exclusion from Atlantic trade:

*Nightward from Gades none may fare;
Turn back ship's tackle to Europe's strand!*

sang Pindar in 461 B.C. And when he recurred again and again to Gibraltar as the bourne of enterprise and the limit of safety and wisdom, and spoke of the "not-to-be-trodden salt-sea beyond the pillars" set as the end of voyaging, he voiced only the

Nem. iv. 69

Nem.
iii. 20

general resignation of Greece to this limitation of its commerce. It was Herakles who set this boundary, says Pindar in this same passage; but the Hispanic Herakles (as we all know) was a Punic hero!

With οὐκέτι πρόσω ἀβάταν ἄλλα κίωνων ὑπὲρ Ἡρακλέος περᾶν εὐμαρές, the seal was set on the first chapter of the Greeks in Spain.⁶⁰

II. THE SANTA ELENA BRONZES

ARCHAEOLOGICAL exploration is still in its early days in Spain. Tartessos is just on the verge of discovery;¹² Mainake awaits more certain identification;¹⁰ Hemeroskopeion, unless I have found it, is still unknown. And yet I think there is one bit of archaeological evidence to confirm the early history of Spain as I have just narrated it.

Far up the "silver-rooted" river of Tartessos, which nowadays is called the Guadalquivir, were the mines of the Silver Mountain (the ἀργυροῦν ὄρος of Strabo, "from which they say the Baetis flows," and the *argentarius mons* of Avienus). The modern town of Linares is near these ancient mines. Not so very far north, at Santa Elena below the pass of Despeñaperros where the Madrid-Seville railway crosses the Sierra Morena and with it the boundary between Castille and Andalusia, an old "Iberian" shrine has been discovered and excavated.

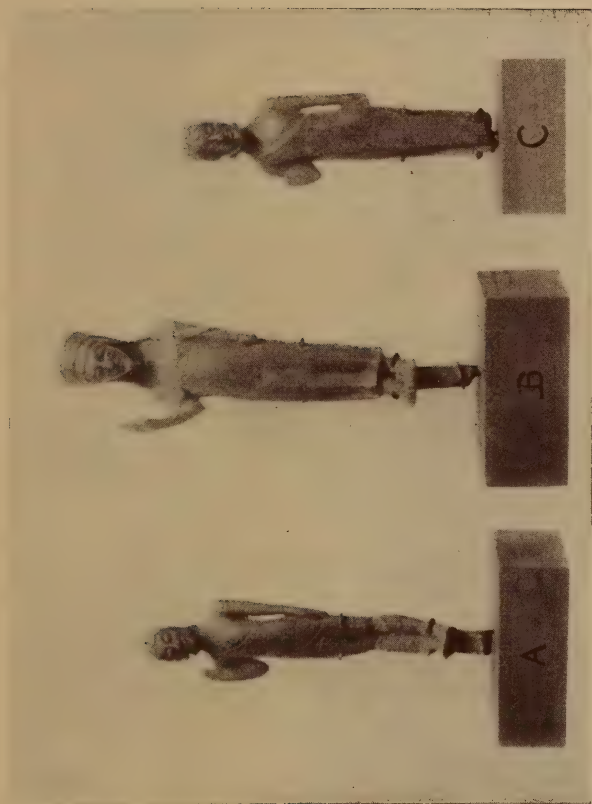
Arch. Anz.
1922
pp. 30-37

Stesichoros
(ca. 600 B.C.)

Strabo
III. ii. 11
Avien. 291

Map inside
back cover

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<p>See Bibliography, p. 165</p> <p>"C"</p>	<p>The spoil consisted almost wholly of little votive bronze statuettes; but these were turned up not merely by the hundred, but literally by the thousand. They are to be seen in the Archaeological Museum in Madrid, and an illustrated catalogue of them (amounting almost to a <i>corpus</i>) is ready for publication. Some of them are utterly primitive, but most betray a very fair skill in casting and a sense for modeling. There is no doubt that they are Tartesso-Iberian: the costume of the women, the armour of the men, above all the artistic style are unmistakable evidence of their native origin. Among the thousands there are, however, three which seem to me of capital importance. These I have photographed and reproduced on Plates IV, V, and VI.</p> <p>The little lady who stands on the right on each of these three plates is not wearing Iberian dress; for Iberian dress characteristically is of two types. Sometimes it consists of a single-piece cloak covering the back and drawn up over the head, <i>mantilla</i>-fashion; or else it is a short hooded cloak</p>
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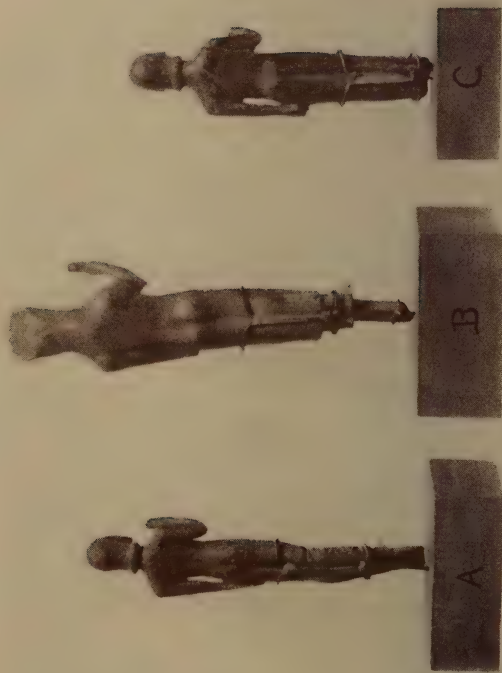
Bronze Figurines from Santa Elena

which flares out below the waist, sometimes with pointed tails and sometimes with swallow-tail sleeves—a sort of Little Red Riding-hood garment. But the statuette here wears an undergarment with sleeves reaching halfway to the elbow and adorned with an ornamental border (which on the original bronze may be detected again at the right waist, where the outer garment is open); and over this “chiton”—for by this Greek name we must call it—hangs an overgarment, open at the right, being fastened on top of the right shoulder but passing underneath the left arm. It cannot be denied that this costume is essentially Greek and essentially Ionic. The face (to which my photograph does not do justice) is well-modelled, with a surprising softness and delicacy about the cheeks. The hair is neatly and tidily marked by striations. The body-forms under the garment are indicated with a discreet emphasis highly characteristic of archaic Ionic art. The elements of the pose, the raised hand, the arm bent at the elbow, the other straight-hanging arm with the closed hand pressed

40	THE GREEKS
	<p>against the hip, are all familiar from early Greek bronze statuettes.¹⁸ The connoisseur of Greek art can come, I think, to only one conclusion: that the statuette was made under the direct influence of late sixth century Ionic Greek art. Luckily I need not commit myself to a decision as to whether it was cast by an Ionic Greek or an Iberian pupil of an Ionic Greek, since it makes not the slightest difference to the argument; but personally I incline strongly to the first alternative.</p> <p>"A" The little lady who appears on the left of these same photographs shows a less happy skill of modelling. Body forms are flat and contour clumsy. Features are poorly modelled. But the hair and the dress and the pose—in short, the whole inspiration—are the same as in her companion. The Greek prototype is still obvious and indubitable.</p> <p>"B" With the lady in the centre we approach the Iberianisation of the type. The body contours are emphatically and carefully modelled, but the profile outline (Pl. V) sways and runs wild. The outer garment</p>
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Bronze Figurines from Santa Elena



Bronze Figurines from Santa Elena

is no longer Greek, but a sort of compromise between *polos* and *mantilla*. The face is curiously pointed and, seen in profile, large and heavy. In short, the Greek strain is mixed with an alien one, and, as always, loses in beauty but gains in interest by the hybridisation.

In none of the other figurines of Santa Elena could I detect more than a faint echo of this Greek influence. I could see no indication of a Greek prototype in any of the male poses and body-forms. Although there is in the collection a warrior who wears a Greek helmet, this is not an artistic criterion, as the rest of his armour is Iberian and his artistic style is decidedly of that lumpy and clayey kind which is so apt to characterise the Iberian figurine. In fact, it is only the single type of the "Greek"-clad woman votary that furnishes evidence for Greek influence; yet this evidence is conclusive.

One further criterion should be borne in mind: Greek bronzes (even the archaic ones) depend on statue-technique and imitate the artistic devices and desires of the

major art, while Iberian bronzes reproduce merely the clay (or wax) technique on which they are based. After the sheerly primitive products of the period earlier than the coming of the Phocaeans to Spain, Greek bronzes are Greek statues in miniature; but Iberian bronzes resemble cast terracotta figurines. Wherever the Iberian tends toward the refinements of statue-technique (as in the three figures on Plates IV-VI) it is nearly always possible to detect Greek influence. From the photograph of the horseman on Plate VII, an uncontaminated Iberian bronze from the south-east region, it would be difficult to guess the material correctly, so clearly has the "clay" technique left its stamp; whereas no one can for a moment mistake the statuary inspiration in the three ladies or the influence of the "bronze-technique" derived from larger statues. But perhaps, since this is not a familiar criterion, it can bear even more detailed and emphatic stating.

It is, in fact, the most strikingly distinctive feature of Greek bronze figurines from the archaic period onward that they are



Iberian Bronze Figurine



Iberian Bronze Figurine

treated like statues in miniature. They are not castings from puddled clay worked up into human likeness, but accurate reductions from statuary in which the hewn or the graven lines, the smooth and the roughened surfaces, the folds and ridges and hollows have been attentively worked out. In a word, they are not a branch of terracotta but of statuary: they march with the major and not with the minor art. On the other hand, if one will look closely at any ordinary Bronze Age figurine or at such typical Iberian bronzes as the horseman on Plate VII or the woman on Plate VIII, one will see that they (like pre-archaic primitive Greek work) are derived not from imitation of effects painstakingly laboured out in a recalcitrant material like stone, but from clay or wax which has been easily and quickly pushed about and shaped with the fingers. There are no sharp edges or clear fine lines or smoothly polished surfaces, no ponderation or care for the carrying of the weight. They are clay or wax recast in bronze, and nothing more.

But the three charming ladies on Plates IV-VI are statues in miniature. The drapery-folds, the lines in the hair, the indication of the little bodies under the dresses, the articulation and orderliness of every part, the texture and actuality of the overlapping layers of cloth, the cutting of sharp edges for eyelids, nostrils, and mouth, the smooth surfaces on forehead and cheek, are so many echoes of statuary on a large scale in bronze or in marble. They are, in a word, drawn from the sculptor's and not from the clay-worker's technique.

And when, in addition, it is recalled that the lady on the right wears Greek not Iberic dress, that the lady on the left shows the beautiful and orderly fold-lines of the archaic Greek method of rendering drapery, and that the lady in the centre, though wearing a compromise between Greek *polos* and Iberian *mantilla*, has the tidy but emphatic moulding of the bodily contours which late-archaic Ionian art loved but of which most Iberian art is as innocent as it is ignorant—then I cannot anticipate that anyone with an eye for the subject

can fail to agree that these three Iberian bronzes are the nearest possible blood-relatives of pure late-sixth-century Greek work.

Yet one looks in vain for any influence of fifth or fourth century styles on any of the other figurines from Santa Elena. And therefore two points of almost equal importance stand out:

(1) There has been direct contact with late sixth century Ionic art.

(2) There is no influence of Greek art in its later and more developed forms.

One may find among these Santa Elena bronzes every stage from the crude and primitive to the highly developed archaic; but beyond that stage, with its frontal poses and schematic renderings, this Iberian art rarely passes. In one or two more developed male poses I thought I could detect late Hellenistic or Roman prototypes, as though contact with the outside world had been re-established. In general, however, it is likely that the best work is early and not late. At San Isteban, not far from Santa Elena, there were found together with earthenware of Roman times Iberian

bronzes of very primitive type. Many are only "birdbeak" heads on atrophied bodies as flat as herm-pillars; yet the Roman potsherds prove that they are to be dated toward the end rather than the beginning of Iberian civilisation. It is thus quite permissible to argue that here in the Andalusian mountainland the art of casting bronze went through progressive degradation, starting perhaps as a primitive native industry with a vigorous and earnest bent for realistic imitation, becoming stimulated then by contact with sixth century Greek example and instruction, and thereafter, when the Greek stimulus had failed, languishing and atrophying.

So interpreted (and it seems to me that the interpretation will hold) the Santa Elena bronzes support the theory that the Phocaeans or their like were in Tartessos during the sixth century, penetrating with their influence the Guadalquivir valley far up to the silver mines at its head, and that toward the close of the century they vanished again from the scene.

III. THE MASSILIOT SAILING-BOOK

THE second chapter of the history of the Greeks in Spain bears the colophon not of Phocaea the Mother-city, but of the fairest of her daughters, Massilia, her whom we now call Marseilles. She should already have had a place in my narrative, for she has by now become the most important influence upon the eastern coast of Spain.

The colony of Massilia was founded by Phocaea a year or so after 600 B.C.¹⁹ Trade was of course the objective, and the importance of the Rhone valley as a trade-route into north-western Europe⁶¹ was the chief reason for selecting the splendid harbor east of the Rhone delta. Here Greece was to maintain her language and her influence almost into the Middle Ages.

After the Persian capture of Phocaea in 540 B.C. and the failure of the emigrant Phocaeans to maintain themselves in Corsican Alalia, Massilia must have sorely lacked support and been in danger of isola-

tion from the Hellenic world through the hostile sea-power of Etruria. But it is a mistake to look upon this as anything but a short period of depression for the Phocaeans in the West. The glory that waned in Phocaea brightened again on the southern shore of France—much as the light that Assyria had eclipsed in Tyre had already begun to shine more brightly in Tyre's great western colony, Carthage. The Phocaean ships which traded in "the fairs of Tarshish" now gave up the long Asia Minor journey for the shorter run to Southern France. This now became the trade-route of the Greeks to Spain. Perhaps the Phocaean ships from Velia still occasionally crossed the island-bridge and brought back the Tartessian tin and silver; but Carthage now seems to have succeeded in seizing the bridge, or at any rate to have rendered it unsafe. The Balearic Islands from now on were Carthaginian until they were Roman.

After the fall of Phocaea, then, Massilia took over the brunt of the Spanish trade. Hemeroskopeion, instead of being the last

gathering-place and harborage on the return-journey from Tartessos—a sort of Aulis for the journey across the open water—sank to a port-of-call for vessels coasting northward past Tarragon and Barcelona and the Roussillon to Marseilles.

A strange accident has preserved for us the echoes of an old sailing-book, a mariner's-description of this voyage from Tartessos home to Marseilles. The original must have dated from about 530 B.C. It was written to describe the sea-way from the Lands of Tin (or more accurately the coasts of Brittany) down the Atlantic shore, through the Gibraltar Straits, and up the coasts of Spain and Southern France to Marseilles. But it must not be imagined that we have this earliest of "Mediterranean Pilots" in its original form. On the contrary, what we possess is a poor late-Roman versification by a certain Avienus, who translated a Greek schoolman's work, which was in turn drawn from an earlier Greek historian, who copied directly out of the Massiliot sailing-book. But the most recent editor of the *Ora Mari-*

50	THE GREEKS
See Bibliography	<p>tima of Avienus, Adolph Schulten, has succeeded in combing out the old Greek portions from the later accretions and the padding and garnishing of the poetaster—who lived, be it noted, some 900 years after the time when Massiliot ships sailed to Tartessos. With this process once duly performed, we are left with an invaluable account of the geography and ethnography of the Spanish coastland in or about the year 530 B.C. And though it is now in doggerel and at fourth hand, a little of the old flavour is there. Under the wretched Latin verses a good palate may still detect the savour of a finely clear early-Ionic prose.</p> <p>From the Lands of Tin to the mouth of the Tagus below Lisbon the descriptions, though accurate, are brief. They rest seemingly on hearsay, on the accounts of the sailors of Tartessos who brought the tin as far as their own Andalusian city. But from Tartessos to Marseilles the coast is minutely described, obviously by one who has himself journeyed it many times. True, it is banal enough and dull to read;</p>
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but one gains respect for it when one remembers what lies back of it or, map and commentary in hand, discovers how marvellously it picks up every sailor's landmark along the Spanish coast.

Mainake is thus described:

*Soon after these comes the Barbetian range
And river Malcha, called by the city's name
Which once in olden time was Menacē.*

Avien.
425-31

*There, hard before the town, an island
stands,*

*Tartessian-owned, which once was dedicate
By natives unto Her-who-Shines-by-Night.*

*There's quiet water here, within the isle,
And harbours safe: above lies Menacē, the
town.*

This is poor verse (in the Latin as well as in my forlorn English rendering), but not bad topography.

If one cares to take a really good modern atlas, turn to the map of Spain, find Cartagena at the foot of the east coast, and watch the following bit from Avienus for the stretch from Cartagena to Alicante, one will see, better than I can tell him, what

52	THE GREEKS
<p>Avien. 449-63</p>	<p>sort of document is this old Massiliot sailing-book:</p> <p><i>Next, the Namnatian Port near Massian town</i> <i>Curves in from open sea; there with high walls</i> <i>Above the bay's head towers MASSIA.</i> <i>Next, Tretē Cape projects and, close beside,</i> <i>The island Strongylē beyond whose edge</i> <i>A huge lagoon spreads out behind its banks.</i> <i>Then, Theodorus stream (nor be amazed</i> <i>That in a place so barbarous and wild</i> <i>Here in its name you catch a sound of Greece)</i> <i>Pours out its flood. Dwelt erstwhile in these parts</i> <i>Phoenician folk. Thereon, along the shore</i> <i>The sands spread out again and islands three⁵¹</i> <i>Gird wide the coast. Here once the boundary stood</i> <i>Of realm Tartessian, here stood Herna's state.</i></p> <p>Such is our earliest picture of Spain. From it we learn that there were three capital towns along the coast: Tartessos, chief town of the Tartessians; Massia, chief</p>
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town of the racially allied and apparently politically subject Massians; and Callipolis (Tarragona), chief town of the more distantly related and politically independent Iberians. All three were walled cities, the two latter with imposing fortifications: in Avienus, Massia (Cartagena) "towers with high walls" (*surgit altis moenibus*) and Tarragona is

Avien.
297. 451
515-17

*That famed Callipolis which with vast
height
Of rampant walls and lofty battlements
Touches the sky.*²⁰

If I read Avienus rightly, the kingdom of Tartessos stretched from Portugal to Alicante.²¹ North of the latter came hill-country belonging to the same folk which had colonised the Balearic Islands, distinct in dress and race from the Tartessians, very likely an older dispossessed folk²² whom the Tartessians and Massians had driven before them when they crossed from Africa (but this is full of rank conjecture!). It was in this country that the Phocaeans had first found welcome and had estab-

54	THE GREEKS
<p data-bbox="139 478 278 539">Strabo III. iv. 6</p> <p data-bbox="139 858 278 945">Steph. Byz. s. v. Hem- eroskopeion</p>	<p data-bbox="291 265 947 346">lished their first Spanish town, Hemeroskopeion.</p> <p data-bbox="291 349 947 1349">At some later date, Massilia was to add two other little towns in the same region, though where they lay and what their names were we do not rightly know. "Between the Sucron (River Jucar) and (New) Carthage," says Strabo, "there are three tiny towns (πολίχνια) of the Massalites not very far from the river. Of these the best known is Hemeroskopeion," which (as one may see from this) passed for a Massiliot foundation in these later days when the Phocaean sailing-voyages were all-but forgotten. (Artemidoros, however, preserves the tradition that it was a Phocaean colony, Φωκαέων ἄποικος.) Of the two other "townlets" there is nothing certain to say. It would be an attractive guess to venture that one of them was Alōnae, that it lay just north of the Cabo de la Nao, almost where Javea is to-day and where a very precious and well-known gold diadem⁵⁶ in "Greco-Iberian" style was found in 1904, and that the modern name of the little Javea stream, the <i>Jalón</i>, guards an</p>
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echo of the ancient name. (There is an alternative name, *Gorgos*, which has a curiously ancient ring to it.) But that would after all be a guess in the dark and perhaps not a very good one, even though Pomponius Mela puts his *Allone* somewhere about the Cape, mentioning it after Valentia and before Alicante, and classing it as *Ilicitanus* and therefore south of Cape San Antonio, while Ptolemy puts his 'Αλωναί in the land of the Contestani, who are the folk of this cape-land; and the 'Αλωνίς, νῆσος καὶ πόλις Μασσαλίας of Artemidoros could be justified by considering the silting-up which the Jalón has occasioned and by looking for a *palaeopolis* on the rocky bar at the present river-mouth. But it is equally plausible (and much more usual) to seek Alonae further down the coast at the islet of Benidorm. The other little town may possibly have been the one called Λευκὴ Ἀκρα, in which case it was certainly situated by the beautiful white fortress hill which shines so luminously above the modern town of Alicante. For "Alicante" is a Moorish rendering of "Lucentum,"

Mela II. 93

Ptol.
II. vi. 14Steph. Byz.
s. v.

Diod.
xxv. 10

and "Lucentum" is a Latin rendering of Λευκή Ἄκρα. Yet it is not certain that Λευκή ἄκρα is anything but Diodoros' translation of a Punic name, so that there may never have been a Greek town at Alicante.

But I was following Avienus northward in his description of the east coast of Spain. Beyond the Kingdom of Tartessos (says he) in the capeland where the Gymnetes had once lived, begins the land of the Iberians. Their first town Ilerda is still for us moderns to find. But further north along the fertile Valentian shoreland were various Iberian towns whose sites are more certainly identifiable—Tyris at Valencia, Salauris on Cape Salou, Callipolis at Tarragona,²⁰ and others elsewhere, as far north as Barcelona or a bit beyond. Then came broken country again, and in the foothills of the Pyrenees dwelt wilder people, remnants—as the hillfolk nearly always are—of older and forgotten tribes dispossessed of the fertile lowlands.

Map inside
back cover

And from here on, the voyage to Mar-
seilles lies beyond the Spanish border and,
for our purposes, passes beyond our ken.

IV. GREEK ART AND IBERIAN

FROM literary and archaeological evidence it is certain that the Tartessian-Iberian civilisation during the sixth and the fifth centuries B.C. extended only along the coast,²² stretching from the boundary of Portugal at the Guadiana River all the way into Languedoc in France, with certain brief gaps where the mountains came down to the shore and afforded "islands" of refuge for older people such as the Ibizan Gymnetes (of whom some remnants must have remained in the mountainous country back of the Cabo de la Nao) and the collection of more or less savage tribes in the shoreland of the Pyrenees. The Tartessians and Iberians themselves were by no means savage, though it would seem that the Iberians (in Valencia and Catalonia) lagged considerably behind their more advanced kinsmen the Massians (in Murcia and Granada) and the Tartessians (in Andalusia).

The Santa Elena bronzes have already shown how Tartessian art was indebted to Greek influence. We have seen also that, before the sixth century was out, this influence was ended, probably because the Greeks were excluded from Tartessos by the Carthaginians, and very possibly because Tartessos itself was destroyed. Among the Massians and their northern neighbours, Greek influence lasted longer. Hemeroskopeion probably endured for some time after Tartessos had fallen, and the Massiliot ships came to trade at Alicante and Elche and Cartagena long after the southern coast and the straits were barred to them by the Carthaginian ships. Here in the region of the south-east coast, in the province of Murcia, where the Hellenic contact was the most intimate and the most lasting, the Tartessian-Iberian art is the most mature and apparently the most active. The bronzes found here (*e.g.* Pl. VII) have the most power and vigour; the pottery has the finest decoration; true sculpture in stone, as far as we know, flourishes only here; and temple architecture in

stone has (to the best of my knowledge) been found in no other region. And yet it is a mistake to jump to the conclusion that all these arts are derivatives from the Greek and were made directly under the stimulus of Greek example; for this would be wholly false for the bronzes, largely false for the pottery, and only partly true for the architecture and sculpture.

To all these arts I shall recur immediately; but first I wish to emphasise a converse proposition. Not merely is the native art most mature and most active where the Hellenic contact was the most intimate and the most lasting, but in the rest of the Massian-Tartessian country, the shoreland of the south coast from Cartagena to Gibraltar where the Punic hold was tightest and the Greeks were earliest excluded, it seems that art remained crude and inert. At Villaricos at the mouth of the Almanzora, half way between Cartagena and Almeria, the excavations of Siret have turned up material dating back probably to the seventh century B.C. There is only the barest indication of Phoenician

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<p>Rev. Et. Gr. 1898, p. 60</p>	<p>influence or of Phoenician importation, and not the slightest evidence for a flourishing Punico-Iberian art.²³ It is a safe prophecy that when the Carthaginian stations of the Granadan and Andalusian coasts shall have been excavated, we shall find nothing to alter this opinion. For in matters of art the Phoenicians and Carthaginians had nothing to teach the natives. They were artistically impotent—"les mulets sont toujours stériles," said Théodore Reinach, thinking of the hybrid Oriental art, the mixture of Egyptian, Syrian and Assyrian motives, which these Semites peddled about the Mediterranean until, yielding to the lustrous spell of the art of their enemies, they accepted the Sicilian Greeks for their masters in architecture and sculpture,²⁵ for coins and for vases. One has only to visit Carthage and the Musée Alaoui outside of Tunis to lose forever any illusion that recent archaeologists have been too severe in their judgment on the Punic "genius" for art. In these earlier days they could not have taught the Spaniards to cast bronze or to carve stone, for</p>
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in both these arts they were inferior to them in skill. In goldsmithing alone they may have exercised an artistic influence and stimulated a native industry.⁶²

But wherever the Greeks were settled and were allowed to trade, Iberian art flourished. And yet, as I have said, Iberian art is not mere provincial Greek nor always Greek at all. It is this which makes its study both fascinating and difficult.

Let me say, first, that the Greek influence is indubitable.

Most clearly of all is it to be seen in the famous bust of the Lady of Elche (Plate IX) now in the Louvre Museum.²⁴ The winds of controversy have blown about her lovely head for nearly thirty years; and now, though the gusts have abated, it is still doubtful in which quarter we are to look for clear sky. The literature has been enormous and in some ways profitable, but still without finality. There is, however, a fair consensus of opinion nowadays that there is a Greek strain in the Lady of Elche, though I dare say that only a minority

p. 64

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Rev. Et. Gr. 1898, p. 59	<p>agrees with Théodore Reinach's "<i>espagnol par le modèle et les modes, phénicien peut-être par les bijoux, grec, purement grec, par le style.</i>"</p> <p>And yet, as we come to know ancient Iberian things better with the years, the Lady of Elche steps more and more apart. She comes to live in a region of our mind which is shared only by the most beloved things of Greece. Such an experience has only an individual and personal value: to others it is worthless as evidence. I give it first, and then, without any illusion that I am adding finality to all that has already been written, add some more objective arguments:</p> <p>1. The very idea of carving an ideal human likeness life-size from a piece of quarried stone, with accurate indication of dress and ornament, enhanced by brilliant colour, though not uniquely a Greek idea, was not so common in the ancient world as we might at first suppose. In general, it did not exist in Europe or the Western Mediterranean except where and as Greek example introduced it. As far as we know,</p>
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it did not exist in early Spain except in this region of the "Greek" coast.

2. The argument that the costume and ornamentation are un-Greek is not irrelevant, but wholly relevant. It is precisely what we should expect of a Greek sculptor filling an Iberian commission. Fifth and fourth century Greek artists did precisely similar things in working for the Scythians of southern Russia, the Phoenicians of the Palestinian coast, the Carthaginians,²⁵ the barbarous phil-Hellenes of Asia Minor, or any other foreigner who chose to be garbed and bedizened *more suo*.

3. Scrutiny of the profiles of the various features of the face (which is somewhat difficult because of the great ear-wheels) will impress the observer with the great beauty and care with which all the curves have been worked. But, more than that, these are the same geometrically perfect profiles which meet us so consistently in Greek architectural mouldings and Greek vase outlines. Their occurrence here is a strong indication of Greek authorship.

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Plate X	<p>4. The use of a ruled scale to produce symmetry and proportion is characteristically, though not exclusively, Greek. The device of measuring ancient Greek statues minutely for the length and width of every part and of trying to establish numerical coherence in all these measurements is deservedly in ill-repute among archaeologists.⁶⁶ But if one cares to apply a graduated ruler to the frontal photograph of the Lady of Elche on Plate XIII of Volume IV of the <i>Monuments Piot</i>, one will discover that (as far as one can measure by such a method) the sculptor laid out the features by equal parts or units. And if one similarly measures the bronze head of the Chatsworth Apollo on Plate I of Furtwaengler's <i>Intermezzi</i>, one will discover an agreement with the Lady of Elche which is perfect except for a single item (the length of the nose and consequent height of the eyebrows). The following table gives the measurements reduced to commensurable units, though I am anxious to point out that there is no pretence of accuracy to the millimetre:</p>
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The Lady of Elche



The Chatsworth Apollo and the Lady of Elche

IN SPAIN

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VERTICAL MEASUREMENTS

Lady

Apollo

Tip of chin to line of mouth.....	3	3
Line of mouth to base of nose.....	1½	1½
Length of nose (base to bridge).....	4	3½
Height of forehead (to upper band of veil or to hair).....	3	3
Total height of face....	11½	11
Bridge of nose to mid-level of eyes.....	1½	1
Level of eyes to line of mouth.....	4	4

HORIZONTAL MEASUREMENTS

Length of line of mouth.	3	3
Length of eye.....	2	(av.) 2
Distance between eyes..	2	2
Width of face at eye-level.....	8	8
Width of head between ears or earwheels.....	11 (?)	11

AND MONOGRAPHS

VI

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	<p>By such a comparison I am pointing out that both sculptors set out the parts according to the same simple scheme of lengths and heights, so as to ensure scale and proportions. I believe that the fifth century Greek sculptors always worked with some sort of measured scale (if only because they were intelligent and conscientious craftsmen) and I consider the occurrence of this practice in the Lady of Elche to be a tell-tale indication of Greek workmanship. As for the agreement with the Chatsworth head, can it be merely a coincidence that this splendid bronze was acquired at Smyrna at the very doors of the Phocaeen homeland?</p> <p>The two heads are stylistically at precisely the same stage of development. The slight moroseness which, by the exaggeration of reaction, was the sequel to the "archaic smile," has given way to a quiet seriousness without animation. The superficial sources of facial expression have been discovered, but the deeper ones, dependent on the facial muscles, are still unknown. The features are given in their correct</p>
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general shape, but too simply, without understanding of the minute breaking-up of all the planes: the geometrically pure curve is in every instance given instead of the complicated approximation of actual flesh and blood, the single curving plane instead of the endless variety of surface. In both, archaism with its purely ornamental and tidy repetitions of set formulae has been overcome. In the Lady of Elche, the pellets which ornament the diadem and ear-wheels are not all of exactly the same size, or spaced at exactly the same interval, or aligned with complete strictness; the three central ornaments of the necklace are not exactly on centre nor do they carry down with precision the median line of the face; the drapery folds are schematic, but not mechanical. In fine, the delightful but unliving precision of the late archaic has given place to a discreet half-timid searching for variety. (I shall have occasion to remark later that this is a stage of development which is never fully reached by the pure Iberian sculpture known to us.) An un-Hellenic cast of countenance would

not necessarily be surprising (though barbarian portraits scarcely begin till a century later), but here, as the comparison with the Chatsworth Apollo shows, it does not exist. If one covers with sheets of white paper all the outlandish elements of the Lady of Elche on a photograph, or blocks them out as I have done on Plate X, much of the Iberic appearance will vanish. The sunken cheeks may be slight *gaucherie* of workmanship occasioned by the unusual difficulty of cutting back behind the great ear-wheels; but even these occur in Greek heads of the period, as in the Louvre version of the head of the "Apollo on the Omphalos."

In short there is nothing left to compel us to say that an Ionic artist of Hemeroskopeion (or Alonae or Leuke Akra?) could not have done the work, and everything to lead us to suppose a Greek sculptor's hand and to agree with Reinach's verdict, "*espagnol par le modèle et les modes, phénicien peut-être par les bijoux, grec, purement grec, par le style.*"

The Chatsworth head is dated by Furtwaengler 465-460 B.C.; and by the editors of the Catalogue of the Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art at the Burlington Fine Arts Club (1904) it is placed in "a period between that of the Olympia sculptures, upon which it marks an advance, and that of the Parthenon," that is to say, around 455 B.C. If the Lady of Elche is Greek, we may give her the same approximate date. Since the style, as we have seen, is not archaic, but belongs to the last of that transitional period which intervened between the Persian Wars and the Periclean Age, the earliest possible decade is 470-460 B.C. If we allow for the retardation attendant upon work in the provinces at a distance from the centres of artistic growth and change, we should have to believe 460-450 B.C. to be nearer the truth. In that case, she is good evidence for Greek activity in Spain at this period. We shall have to postulate a revival of Phocaeen-Massilian western trade following in the generation after the defeat of the Carthaginians and Etruscans at Himera and Cumae. Tar-

Intermezzi,

p. 5

op. cit.

p. 11

tessos may be a closed market now; but the Massiliot ships are coasting and trading as far as Cartagena (which was then Mas-sia), and Greek artistic influence is penetrating into the Iberian coast-towns of Murcia.

A second piece of evidence for Greek influence in this part of Spain is to be found in the famous statues from the Cerro de los Santos.

These extraordinary productions are most conveniently to be found in the first volume of Pierre Paris' *Essai sur l'Art et l'Industrie de l'Espagne Primitve*, for long the fountain-head of information on early Spain for most of us of the outside world. As this work is in every archaeological library, I shall refer freely to its illustrations rather than reproduce here material so readily accessible. Nor shall I attempt to recount what has been told more than half a hundred times,²⁶ how Cerro de los Santos is a ridge of hills some fifty miles inland from Alicante, how the statues were found there, how the "mad watchmaker of Yecla" was accused of forging most of

them or many of them or some of them or none of them, and how all the less-suspected of the collection are now on view in the Archaeological Museum in Madrid where he who runs may stare at their strangeness.

As to their genuineness, M. Zuazo in a monograph on the Cerro de los Santos said perhaps the best word (of the many that have been said) when he intimated that successful mystification at once so bold and so prolific would be untrue both to the garrulous conditions of life in a Spanish village and the unambitious activities of the provincial Spanish artisan. As for most of them, I have no doubt but they are ancient: we shall have to forego the charge of spuriousness as too ready a way of accounting for their extraordinary style.

“Ἑμοὶ δ’ ἄπορα ἀφίσταμαι.”

The notorious and not-unattractive lady on Plate XI²⁷ (whom the Madrid Museum distinguishes laconically as No. 3500) is inexplicable without some appeal to Greek archaic art in its later forms (*circa* 500 B.C.).

The chevron-like folds of the cloak, the tassels, the crinkled undergarment show-

ing at and across the feet, the wispy locks of forehead hair, the three pendant braids on either shoulder, these are all direct imitations of the Greek archaic schemata for these things. But the primitive eye form, the clumsy modelling of hands and feet, the severe frontality of the pose, the lack of elegance and fineness in the cutting and ornamentation are indications that these previously mentioned ripe-archaic forms are borrowed, being beyond the real stage of development of the artisan who has himself barely overpassed the primitive. Almost one might imagine that the man who carved this thing had visited in "*Helike*," had seen the Donna d'Elche fresh in her colors and new in her cutting, and had tried to do likewise. The mantle of the Lady of Elche comes over the shoulder, and down toward the hands in so much the same manner, the whole conception is so much the same! And yet I am inclined to think that the Iberian sculptor learned his methods from some predecessor of the Lady of Elche, something fuller of the late-archaic loveliness of precise folds and careful repeti-



"Lady 3500"



Two Statues from Cerro de los Santos

tions, the lost Greek work in Spain before 500 B.C. So precisely can the original inspiration be dated. And yet, for all the apparent paradox, although Lady 3500 was based on Greek precepts of the late sixth century, she herself cannot be dated back to that period or to any other! Though Iberian sculpture endured and was active for some four centuries, it never developed far beyond its archaic stage. Archaic Iberian art in this statue reflects late-archaic Greek art: that is all that we are allowed to say. In the hey-day of Carthage, and in the time of the coming of the Roman conquerors, Iberian art is still archaic. Whoever doubts this, must look at Lady 3502 on Plate XII (left).

At her breasts this second lady wears the rayed full-face of the sun and the profile face of the crescent moon—a pair of symbols dear (in more simplified form) to neo-Punic reliefs.²⁸ In her hands she holds a cup, from which (as M. Paris puts it) “*il en jaillit des flammes sur lesquelles se detache un mouton.*” Below these she wears upon her dress a richly ornamented and well-

executed panel showing a sea-monster with wings and looped Triton-tail, who is darting a florid tendril-tongue over rippling waves above which (as far as I can discover) a snake-fringed full-faced Medusa mask stares down. Figure 1 reproduces a sketch based on a pencil-rubbing of the original. The style and execution, as one may readily see, are not so bad—certainly not so bad as many of the other parts of the statue; for the lady's features are ungainly—although there is an apparent contradiction in that eyelids, nostrils, and lips show a certain amount of observation and skill—hands and feet are hopelessly crude, the pose is rigid, the general outline listless and heavy, the drapery lines without a vestige of grace or variety. Yet the curly-horned sheep with his pebbled fleece is astonishingly naturalistic. Here again, as in the case of Lady 3500, we are forced to disintegrate the elements and to distinguish an undeveloped and primitive artisan borrowing from more developed sources.

But this time these sources cannot be early Greek.

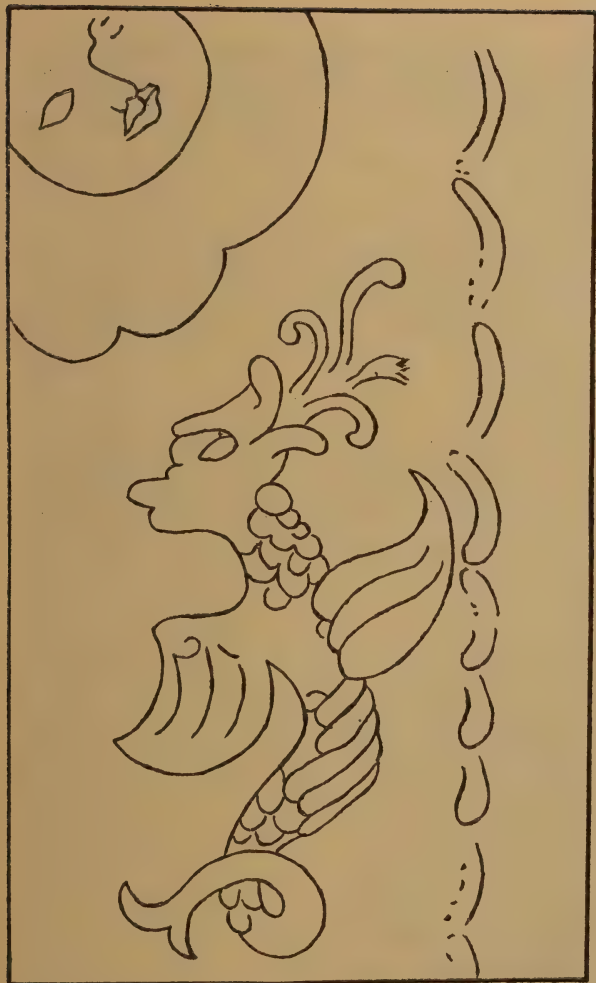


Figure 1. Panel Decoration on Lady 3502

Plate XIII shows the upper portion of a Roman statue in the museum at Cherchel in Algeria. On the richly and splendidly ornamented corslet, among other carved figures, are a Triton with wings at his hips and a looped serpent-tail ending in a dolphin-fork and, facing him, a centaur whose body becomes floral and ends in flowering tendrils. The Triton is almost a prototype for the winged sea-monster on the panel of the Iberian statue, and the centaur's tendrils are in the same spirit as the tendril tongues of the sea-beast. The Medusa-mask in the sky recurs on the hanging plates of the Roman's girdle. All the elements of the Iberian panel are here, though in different combination. And since these ornamented Roman breast-plate statues are not uncommon, it is quite possible that still more exact parallels can be found.²⁹ The Iberian sculptor clearly borrowed these motives, he borrowed them from an art in a much more naturalistic stage than his own, the elements are not to be found in the Mediterranean until Hellenistic and Roman times,³⁰ they occur as "dress-orna-



Detail of a Roman Imperial Statue in the Cherchel Museum

ments" on the early imperial statues of generals and emperors, *ergo* Lady 3502 dates from Roman times and suggests that Iberian art has moved very little in half a thousand years.

Again, there is to be found in the local museum of Murcia a fragment (No. 45) from the Cerro de los Santos or the nearby Llano de la Consolacion, which shows the lower part of the torso of a man wearing an Iberian corslet with straps and fringes indicated in a style common to Roman cuirassed statues.³¹

Most convincing of all, however, are certain of the Cerro de los Santos male statues whose drapery unmistakably echoes the cut and arrangement and sculptural formulae peculiar to the Roman toga-style. These statues have a little more freedom in the rendering of the third dimension; but the pose is still frontal and there is no real advance in statuary skill beyond their more ancient fellows. The drapery folds are utterly stereotyped and conventional: the style is lifeless, and the apparent nat-

Paris, *Essai*,
I. Figs. 231-
34

uralism is a mere copying and borrowing from contemporary Roman models.

There is plenty of proof that Iberian art lasted into Roman times and was not immediately supplanted by that provincial variant of Roman art which ultimately produced so many dreary works and left so uniform a stamp upon the Spanish peninsula. Under Roman rule, the native industries were to linger on for many generations before the final stillness of the Pax Romana settled down.

Thus, at Emporion and elsewhere, money with legends in Iberic characters was coined after the Roman conquest.³²

At Tarragona the "Roman" walls have Iberic letters or masons' marks on the carefully squared and fitted stones.

Iberian pottery is often found mixed with Roman *terra sigillata*.³³

Native gold-smithing continued under the Roman occupation; the Tivissa find, now in the Tarragona Museum, falls in this period.³⁴

But the Cerro de los Santos and Llano de la Consolacion sculpture is the best evi-

dence that, down even to early Imperial times, native art according to native tradition continued to flourish, albeit modified by outside influences.

I have tried to show, then, that the initial inspiration for the Iberian sculpture of the Murcia region came from the late archaic art of the Greeks, and that thereafter there is little development until the final extinction of the native ateliers in Roman Imperial times. But one may well demand why Iberian sculpture did not continue to profit by Greek precedent and Greek instruction and develop as the Greeks themselves developed. Why is there no Iberian sculpture in the Pheidian style, why nothing Praxitelean or Skopasian or Lysippan?

Only two answers seem possible: either the Iberian sculptors were incapable of keeping pace with Greek precedent (through technical deficiency, or through a lack of understanding and interest) or else the contact was broken and the Iberian sculptors had no opportunity of keeping pace with the Greek styles. The first answer—

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<p>Plate XII, right</p>	<p>that the Iberian sculptors were incapable—is probably wrong, because we see imitations from so advanced a style as that of Rome and yet no slightest echo of any Greek style later than 450 B.C. The Iberian sculptors might not have been able properly to assimilate Greek teaching; but some imitation, however garbled, however barbarous, must have shown. On the contrary, we have abundant evidence for the existence of a wholly independent Iberian style, produced apparently without contact with any other Mediterranean people. To this style belongs a group of statues which long lay under the suspicion of forgery; yet the best proof of their genuineness is precisely their strangeness, their utter dissimilarity to any known style, ancient or modern.</p> <p>Such are the “Red Riding-hoods” with their amusingly naïve, but by no means characterless, drapery. Here, among lingering traces of archaic Greek drapery lines, are schemata and decorative forms which are wholly original. They are archaic by their geometric simplicity, by</p>
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their love of repetition and of geometric orderliness, by their utter lack of knowledge of the endless planes and disarrangements incident to naturalistic imitation. They are the same phase (if you like) on a different orbit, the same stage of evolution of an utterly different mind and eye. Here, at last, is native Iberian art, untainted and uninstructed, at a point of development exactly comparable to that of sixth century Greek art, but wholly unrelated to it and independent of it in time. For us, with our present information, it is undated and undatable, except that it probably comes later than the Greek and earlier than the Roman influence.

What else can we imagine it to be, if not the product of Iberian art stirred to life by Greek influence and thereafter working out its own style without further suggestion or aid? If the guess be right, Carthage must have succeeded in silencing Greek commerce here as she had already done along the south coast when she destroyed Mainake. Thereafter, either Murcia was bare of any foreign element or,

if the Carthaginians established themselves here, they brought no sculptural art which could impress or instruct the native workmen.

One is led to very much the same conclusion by studying the Iberian pottery of the period.³⁵ The finds from Elche and nearby places are abundant. Enough of the material is accessible in the pages of the second volume of Paris' *Essai*, and in the same author's *Promenades*, to give a fair idea of the extraordinary style, primitive but vigorous, without refinement but not without force of character, the work of a dauber but not of a savage. The human representations are horrible; the beasts—of which the Elche painters are inordinately fond—are quite as bad realistically, but have considerable decorative value. They generally occur on bands or friezes, much as do the beasts on "Oriental" early Greek vases; but they are not the same beasts. Plate XIV shows, however, some interesting parallels between Elche ware and early Greek work. The rooster must lose his tail and cockles before



Plate XIV. Animals from Greek and Iberian Vases⁶⁸

he can become Iberian, so that we are not justified in inferring one from the other. But the Iberian's rendering of the birds of his native land, quail or raven or cormorant, may have been influenced by a borrowing of certain Greek tricks of style—the general pose, the set of the head, the shape of the neck, the panel-feathering. So in the beast of prey on these Elche vases—the *carnassier* of M. Paris—the native wolf has been substituted for the unknown unintelligible panther or leopard of the Greek prototype, and rendered by the same tricks of style. The thin flanks, the stalking gait, the panels left inside the silhouette for indication of essential details, are all familiar to us from Ionian and Corinthian ware. As for the leaping hares, it is impossible to believe that the Iberian has not learned directly from the Greek—especially if one looks at some of the other Iberian animals which have been worked up “from life” without Greek assistance.

Plate XV shows some interesting parallels between vegetabiliar designs on Elche ware and Greek vase-drawings taken from

Pl. XIV, 2

Pl. XVI, b

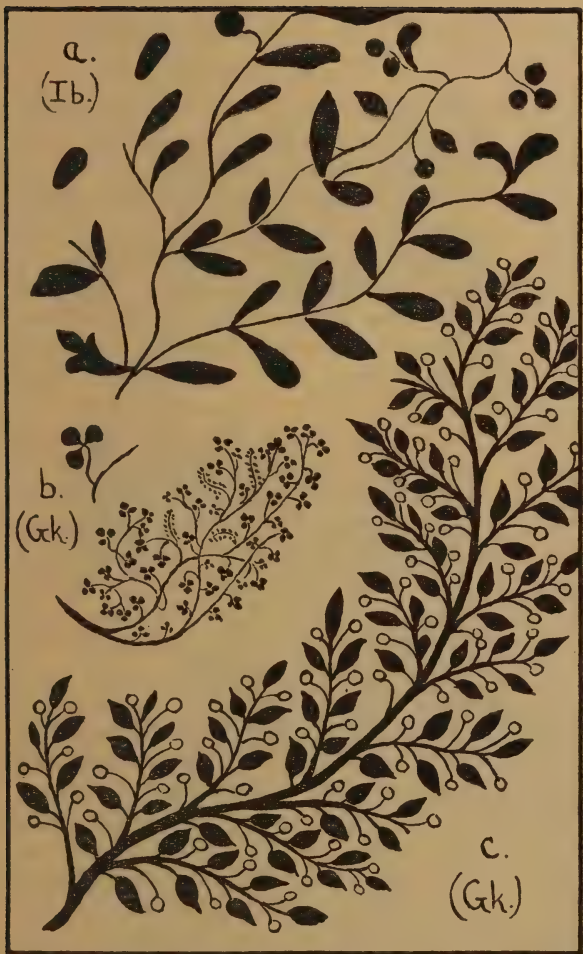


Plate XV. Foliar Designs from Greek and Iberian
Vases ⁶⁵

a Caeretan hydria (perhaps Phocaeen?) and work produced in Attica under "east-Greek" influence. Plate XVI shows horses' heads from Attic sixth century ware, from Elche ware, and from a purely Iberian vase from Archena further inland. The case for Greek influence upon the Elche horse is clearly very fair; but even so, though certain similarities of style are very striking, there is not necessarily any proof of direct copying, of immediate borrowing from an original kept before the painter's eye to guide his hand. The Iberian's fancy has been caught by the Greek drawings, by the horses and cars, the bands of beasts with their separating lines and stripes and ornaments. Himself at a far lower level of artistic training, and unequipped with proper tools, the Iberian could not reproduce these wonderfully accomplished and civilised decorations; but on his own level, for his own world, with his own cruder instruments, he does what he can in the same genre. Instead of fine clear lines, he daubs with heavy strokes, he smudges and wavers and bungles on. It is important to insist



Plate XVI. Horses' Heads from Greek and Iberian
Vases ⁶⁵

on his inferior technical equipment and his inferior technical knowledge, because herein lies the explanation why Iberian sculpture is so much better than Iberian draughtsmanship. The native sculptor could learn directly from the Greek artisan who (as may be seen from the Lady of Elche) had his atelier in Spain; but the native vase-painter could not learn the technique of the Greek vase-painter because the Greek vases came ready-made and were not manufactured on Iberian soil. So the Iberian learned the use of chisel and mallet, but never fell heir to the Greek feather-brush or clean colours or lustrous varnishes. He learned to carve almost as a Greek might, but not to draw.

The Greek parallels which I have adduced belong to the sixth century and are characteristic of Ionian and Corinthian ware. Though it is not wholly impossible to find material in certain earlier "Orientalising" Attic work, yet the wonderful drawings of the Attic potters of the developed black-figure and the still more marvellous red-figure periods find no echo in Iberian



Plate XVII. Ornamental Detail from Greek and Iberian Vases ⁶⁵

ware.³⁶ The potters of Elche were never pupils in that great Attic school of draughtsmanship which explored with such enthusiasm the possibilities of line for rendering the human figure in action and at rest. Yet later, the contact begins again with unmistakable borrowings from late fifth or fourth century Greek styles. Twining tendrils and curling volutes among palmettes abound on the early Ionic vases, but it is not until the late red-figure style that they lose their stiff and formal balance, and run over the vase-surface, rank and luxuriant, with twist and counter-twist, throwing off volute after volute, with a leaf or a palmette within every nascent curl. On Plate XVII it is obvious that the Iberian has been borrowing from the Greek; the meaningless vagaries of the one find their explanation in the intelligible details of the other. Now, in searching for parallels I have always tried to find as old and as early ones as possible; but for most of the decorative tendrils of the Elche vases one cannot go back of fourth century Greek ware for really adequate compari-

sons. It is not merely a question of detail; the whole spirit and style are clear and unmistakable.

Here, then, is a baffling state of affairs in which animals derived from sixth century Corinthian and Ionian ware are accompanied by decorative motives from fourth century "South Italian" Greek ware, while the intervening hey-day of Attic vase-painting leaves no mark.

There was a time when Iberian pottery was classed as a sort of late-Mycenean product; but this theory was abandoned when more careful excavation showed that this pottery is never found with material that can be dated further back than the fifth century B.C. Most generally, if it can be dated at all, it falls in the fourth, third, and second centuries. In the Murcia region it has often been found with fragments of Greek Campanian ware, and in many parts of Spain the Iberian pottery turns up with the Roman *terra sigillata*. As far as we know at present, then, we are not dealing in the Elche ware with vases contemporary with the Corinthian and

Ionian beast-art, but at least a century or two later.

We shall have to conclude that, like the Cerro de los Santos sculpture, the Elche ware is the product of a stagnant art set in motion by archaic Greek example, isolated for a time and abandoned to its own resources, and then brought in contact again with Greek art now too far advanced and too sophisticated—perhaps already too decadent. The Elche beasts are the crude repetition in the fourth or fifth generation after the Corinthian and Ionian beast-art ceased to come to Spanish shores, and the unessential and trivial tendrils and ivy-leaves which serve as space-fillers are the meagre profit drawn from a re-established contact with Greek vase-painting now senile and impotent.

Shall we some day dig up Iberian ware of the sixth century more correctly and directly imitative of Ionian products? Or shall we have to conclude that the Iberian potters were stimulated into imitation only after the Greek supply failed and the peddlers of wine and oil and perfume in

Appendix
II

earthen pots no longer drew up their ships on the Murcian sands? It will be interesting to have the answer.

The Iberians certainly made pots before the Greeks could offer them theirs, because most of the Iberian vase-shapes are independent of the Greek, and this would surely indicate that the industry is older than the Greek influence. With these indigenous shapes goes the crude decoration based on concentric circles and fan-shaped arrangements of concentric arcs. But even in the shapes, some Greek influence is certain; for we find the native potters imitating the Greek kylix or wine-cup.³⁷

There is also another argument: the "pictorial," as opposed to the merely geometrical, style flourishes first and most vigorously in the south-east, the region of Hemeroskopeion. Later it is to be found up-coast at Emporion, at that time the centre of Greek influence, and only in the latest times does it manage to work its way inland, where a final period of energy

See
Chronolo-
gical Table
on p. 180

marks the last blazing-up of Iberian fire across the Roman twilight.

Late in the sixth century the Greeks vanished from the Murcian coast; a century or so later, they were back again with their wares but not again so strongly established in the land. This seems the only feasible inference, if the foregoing analysis of Iberian vase-designs is right. The Cerro de los Santos sculpture led to nearly the same conclusion, except that there was no fourth century resumption of Greek influence. The Lady of Elche suggests that on the coast, at least, Greek influence returned as early as 460-450 B.C.

I wish it were possible to interrogate Iberian architecture as a third witness, but in his present condition he resists questioning. And yet, in so far as any testimony is forthcoming, it is in accord with that of the vases and the sculpture. There are some fragments of mouldings, carved in local stone, found in the Elche regions, and illustrated in Paris' *Essai*. Plate XVIII reproduces such a fragment,⁵⁵ said to have been found at Llano de la Consolación



A Fragment of Iberian Architectural Moulding

(which is in the same region as the Cerro de los Santos) and now in the Madrid Archaeological Museum. A second piece, resembling an anta-cap, is now in the Louvre. Both of these fragments show an egg-and-tongue surmounted by a bead-and-reel and crowned by a tiny flat headband. Though they differ in the shape of the ovolo, both have the dart or tongue buried so as to be nearly invisible between the shields, and both show the heavy and clumsy forms characteristic of archaic Ionian architecture.³⁸ We thus have still another indication of sixth century Ionic influence stimulating an Iberian imitative school; but the finds are still too inadequate to permit any further inferences as to the growth and career of this "Ibero-Ionian" architecture.³⁹

And so we have seen how the arts of Greece came to the shores of Spain and awakened by their example a Spanish desire to do likewise, to build temples and to carve statues and to paint vases. And for all these we must look first to the Phocaeans and Massiliotes, the bringers of the

Paris,
Essai,
I, Fig. 31

olive and the vine to western lands. Interrupted by their Punic rivals, they seem never quite to have lost their hold on Murcia but to have traded along the coast and fetched the Massian ore. In the famous second treaty between Carthage and Rome in 348 B.C. (?) Rome and her allies—among whom must certainly be reckoned Massilia—are expressly permitted to trade as far as Cartagena, and this clause probably merely sanctions an already existent state of affairs. A century later when Hamilcar comes to Spain and when in 221 B.C. Carthago Nova is founded, even the Murcian trade comes to an end. Perhaps at this time Hemeroskopeion and the other Greek posts were destroyed. In consonance with this interpretation, the vase-fragments which I picked up at Hemeroskopeion indicated that the Greeks were still there in the fourth and third centuries B.C.; but until Hemeroskopeion has been excavated we shall be unable to conjecture more definitely how strong or how lasting was their hold here upon Spain.

V. AMPURIAS

THE final chapter of the history of the Greeks in Spain is written in the north beneath the Pyrenees, close to the French frontier. As early as the later sixth century, when the island-bridge was abandoned and Massilia took the place of Phocaea, there was need for a way-station between Hemeroskopeion and Marseilles. Very naturally the Greek ships put in at the great bay under the spurs of the Pyrenean mountain-wall, the modern Golfo de Rosas. There, as Avienus says,

*Between these reefs a harbourage lies spread
Where by no blasts is vexed the water-flood,*

Avien.
538-39

and there, later than the time of Avienus' original source, the Massiliotes set a little trading-post which grew in time to a sizable town. Its old name, Emporion, still lingers in the modern name Ampurias; and here, close to the tiny village of San Martin, the old Greek town itself has been laid bare by modern excavation.⁴⁰

The site to-day presents the usual picture of crossing walls and overlying layers which attend upon a town inhabited through the centuries. A plan of what exists to-day is not a plan of Emporion;⁴¹ it is a fragmentary version of the composite plan of all the successive aspects, Greek, Hellenistic, and Roman. Correct excavation has, of course, supplied the clue to these complications, since the pottery-finds determine the dates and levels. The visitor to Ampurias, in fact, stands above the vestiges of four superposed Emporia, which may be called in terms of their characteristic pottery:

The Roman or Arretine level (second century A.D. to second century B.C.)

The Hellenistic or Campanian level (second century B.C. to fourth century B.C.)

The Attic level (principally fifth century B.C.)

The Ionic level (480 B.C. to 530 B.C.)

As the spade descends, therefore, it passes through the Roman, the Hellenistic, and the Greek levels to the level of the original foundation; but of this last the remains

are so extremely scanty that it is fair to say that we know nothing of the primitive town.

Even the date of its foundation is uncertain, except that we can be sure that it does not go back to the Phocæan days before 540 B.C. There is nothing of the early-Ionic about the Ampurias finds. There are no seventh or early sixth century objects of Phocæan trade or industry—early “Rhodian” or “Milesian” ware, Ephesian and Samian bronzes—unless a little sphinx-relief is to be so classed. And we must remember that Avienus does not even mention Emporion when he has occasion to speak of the great bay on which it stood. Here is clear proof that the town did not exist at the time of the original sailing-book, and this (as Schulten shows) must have been after the battle of Alalia in 535 B.C. The pottery finds thus agree with this literary inference in dating the foundation of Emporion very late in the sixth century. “Orientalising” sixth century ware occurs, but in very small quantities; black-figure ware is common, but it is

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	<p>obviously decadent and late, not earlier than 500 B.C.; instead of the copious Corinthian, Chalcidian, and early black-figure Attic which one would expect on a sixth century site, Frickenhaus could catalogue scarcely two dozen fragments of such ware.⁴² In 1923 a piece of a late sixth century "Augenschale" with a tiny black-figure satyr showing beside a large red-white-and-black eye was discovered and counted as a rarity. And since almost invariably the lowest pottery level at Emporion contains only red-figure or decadent black-figure ware (and with these the soil is studded), the conclusion is clear: Emporion may date back as a trading-post to 525 or so, but as a settled town it is not much older than the year 500 B.C. It was therefore a Massilian and not a Phocaeen foundation.</p> <p>Of the original trading-post we know nothing, unless we may infer that it began on the little rocky hill of San Martin (which is now above a sandy mainland beach, but was once a tiny island) and thence moved to the nearby shoreland within a girdle of</p>
VI	BRYN MAWR NOTES



Emporion, the Gate-Towers



Emporion, Detail of the Town-Walls

now-vanished walls to keep off the now-long-since-vanished Indigetes.

Nor do we really know very much of the Emporion of the fifth century, except that the plentiful vase fragments indicate that the town now began to prosper. Perhaps it was during this period that those fortification walls were built whose southern tower-gate still shows conspicuously to-day. As may be seen from my photographs (Plates XIX and XX), these walls were built of large blocks of unequal size, fitted without mortar, on rather regular horizontal beds, but without concern for the vertical joints. Plate XIX shows the remains of the two towers, the one very conspicuous in the foreground, the other quite small in the right background. Between the two, the walls run back and then turn toward each other to form a gate with opening wide enough for a cart to pass. Hinge-sockets and bar-slots for the gate are still to be seen at either jamb.

Within these ramparts lay a town of no great size, with small unpleasant houses and narrow streets, dirty no doubt and

Hdt. I. 153

ill tended, through which the cold north winds off the Pyrenean snows blew with that invigorating but all-penetrating fury which the modern visitor, even in late autumn, will learn to dread. Here, too, there must have been that open square, or *agora*, for markets and for meeting-place, which was to the ancient town what the open courtyard was to the ancient house. In addition to this "place in the middle of their city where they come together to cheat each other and forswear themselves" (as the bazaar-bred Mede contemptuously called it), Emporion apparently already had at this time its shrine to Asklepios; and outside of the town altogether, on the nearby island where the Massiliotes first ventured to set a trading-post, probably stood a little temple of Ephesian Artemis, whose cult had come from Phocaea to Marseilles. Strabo describes Emporion (and excavation has confirmed his description) as a double town containing a Greek quarter and a native quarter, both within a common girdle of defences, but distrust-

fully partitioned off by an intervening inner wall:

And their city [he says] is a double one, for it has been divided into two cities by a wall, because in former times the city had for neighbours some of the Indictans, who, although they maintained a government of their own, wished, for the sake of security, to have a common wall of circumvallation with the Greeks, with the enclosure in two parts—for it has been divided by a wall through the centre; but in the course of time the two peoples united under the same constitution, which was a mixture of both Barbarian and Greek laws—a thing which has taken place in the case of many other peoples.

Strabo
III. iv. 8, tr.
H. L. Jones

We know very little more than this about the appearance of Emporion in the fifth century; but the fragments of pottery show that commerce was growing greatly and that Massilia was in trade-relation (directly or indirectly) with Athens. Every decade in the fifth century can be illustrated by fragments from Attic workshops.

Appendix
III

I am fortunate in being able to reproduce the finest of these fragments on Plate XXI. The design is drawn in clear firm lines of luminous black, with a most marvellous accuracy and a most engaging delicacy. Over all, and through all, there breathes that spirit of freshness and loveliness which stirred only once in the ancient world. Even Attic painters (who lavished their enthusiasm more on boys and youths) rarely succeeded in drawing maidens with such sympathy and charm. It is scarcely surprising that a master's hand betrays itself here, to be easily and surely detected. The fragment may be attributed without hesitation to the workshop of Makron; a vase of his in the Metropolitan Museum in New York is its immediate relative. It is most interesting that the work of the best potter of his day should have come to a small and distant trading-town in Spain.

But the excavation of Ampurias has brought to light a more surprising instance of Attic art, to give yet more eloquent evidence for the prosperity and *φιλοκαλία* of the ancient town.



A Vase Fragment from Emporion



The Asklepios of Emporion

The statue of Asklepios (Plates XXII-XXIV) was found in pieces in a Roman cistern close to the platform of a small temple, within the town and not very far from the tower-gate. The great size of the statue, the evident costliness of it, the lack of interest in the execution of the back, make it certain that it was a cult statue set up within a temple, no doubt upon the very platform beside which it was found. The substructure of this temple-platform is built of large blocks of hewn stone carefully fitted without mortar on level horizontal beds with vertical joints, a style of masonry likely to occur in the late fifth or the fourth century B.C. and rather anomalous for any later period. The temple on this foundation must have housed a contemporary cult-statue; but our Asklepios has been generally taken for late Hellenistic or Roman work.⁵² I shall try to show, quite the contrary, that in this statue the Barcelona Museum possesses that rarest of rare things—an original statue of Attic workmanship of the close of the fifth century B.C. It is, in fact, the original dedi-

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	<p>cation, and not some later substitute, which has waited underearth for the modern excavator.</p> <p>The god, nearly twice human stature, stands quietly erect in the typical Pheidian pose, one foot planted flat and firm to carry the main weight, the other set slightly further back with sole tilted inward, bending the knee and thrusting it a little forward. So stand many of the late fifth century and early fourth century Attic statues—the Medici Athena, the Vatican Demeter, the Athena Giustiniani—and the figures on Attic tomb reliefs. The swinging line occasioned by this uneven distribution of the weight dies out at the waist, and there is no echo to it or countercurve in the broad and level shoulders or the erect, splendidly carried head. It is the solid and heavy Attic ponderation which was eventually swept aside by the brilliantly balanced chiasmus of the Polykleitan pose and its derivative, the Praxitelean.⁴³</p> <p>In the torso there are obvious traces of lingering archaic formulae in the strongly outward sloping chest and the “exterior”</p>
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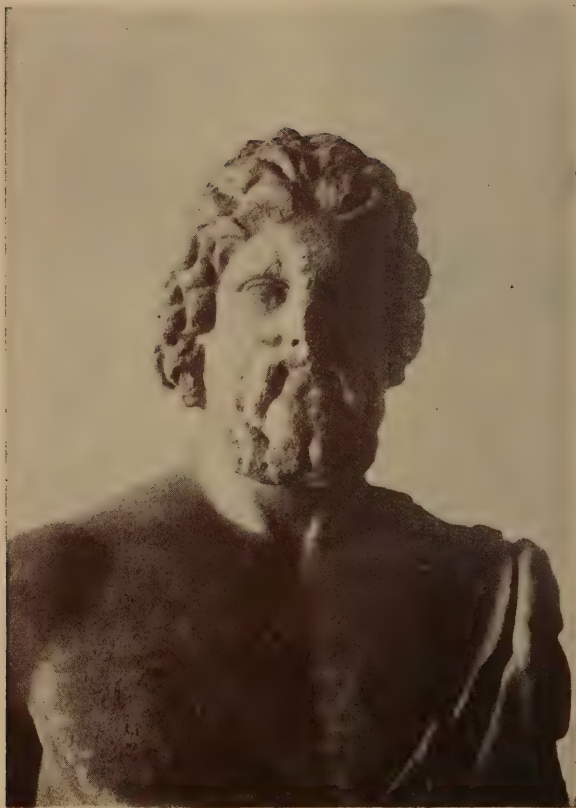
shoulders (which produce an impression that the arm hangs suspended beside the torso instead of being set into its socket). The deltoid muscles, the groove of the breastbone, the boundaries of the breast muscles are simple and overemphatic as in most mid-fifth century work. The planes in the nude are large and rather flat; there is no elaboration of the surface modelling.

The drapery is extremely simple in line. Over the quasi-nude right leg run hanging curves, which originate as far as possible on the other hip and dip successively lower and lower to model the thigh and calf and shin with their curvature. The lowest and longest of these hanging curves is repeated five or six times almost in parallel, concealing the left leg with a wealth of folds and bringing a great swinging line from the right ankle up and across to the left waist. A mass of vertically folded drapery hangs clear of the body on its left, and re-emphasises the vertical element of the pose. The torso is nude except for a heavy line of crumpled drapery running diagonally from the left shoulder to the right waist where

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Plate XXIII	<p>it turns into looped folds which echo the catenary curves on the thigh below. The drapery-folds of the back merely carry on the lines from the front and return them toward the left shoulder without particular care or regard for modelling or composition. The back, we may assume, was not intended for public view.</p> <p>One may find just such drapery in the work of the pupils of Pheidias. There are fragments from the reliefs of the Basis of the Nemesis by Agorakritos,⁴⁴ which show the same looping drapery-folds with up-turned gutter-edges across the bent leg, running into deep vertical clefts between the legs. The same free drapery hangs vertically with undercut shadows at the statue's left; the same crumpled belt of overhanging drapery runs from the right waist to the left armpit. Even the profiles of the drapery-folds are in many instances identical.</p> <p>Another interesting parallel is the marshal at the south-east corner of the Parthenon frieze.⁴⁵ Here again there is the same system of catenary drapery-lines over</p>
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The Asklepios of Emporion



The Asklepios of Emporion

the bent right leg, the same long lines pulling across from the inside of the right leg to the left waist with its heavy, vertically pendant folds, the same crumpled belt of overfolded drapery. The lines of the Asklepios drapery are severer and less graceful, yet surer and more powerful than these of the Parthenon frieze; but the kinship of style is clear. The Parthenon frieze is probably the work of the same Pheidian School in which Agorakritos was prominent.

Other comparisons lead to the same conclusion. Thus, the head, weathered rather more than the rest of the statue, has the leonine and massive hair common in the Pheidian School. Deep drill holes, often several inches in length, divide the large locks which have no graven lines upon them, nor sharp edges, though otherwise they are formal enough in shape and are carefully balanced, with complete symmetry on the forehead and in the beard and with carefully adjusted irregularity beside temples and cheeks. The invisible crown of the head is rough hewn, and shows a

Plate
XXIV

cutting for an attachment of some sort. There is no clear dividing line between forehead and hair or between beard and cheek. The forehead has the bar strongly emphasised, but without any further indication of the muscles or of the bony structure of the eyebrows. The eyes are large and extremely prominent, with an unnaturally large lower lid. The whole shape of the face is rectangular and the effect massive and heavy. This effect is emphasised and increased by the abnormally broad neck which carries down the cheek contour.

This sketchy treatment of the hair is not (as many have apparently thought) an evidence of late date or of the hand of the copyist. On the contrary, it is highly characteristic of the *pre*-Praxitelean Attic School whose methods were merely elaborated and exaggerated by Praxiteles in the Olympia Hermes. It occurs frequently on the Parthenon frieze and on fourth century Attic grave-reliefs.⁴⁶ In larger sculpture, the beginnings of the style are very apparent in the famous Laborde head,

probably from the Parthenon pediments;⁴⁷ and it is already fully developed in the heads from the Nemesis basis.

As for the features, they occur on the Parthenon frieze and in the "Zeus" head in the Boston Museum which is usually taken as one of our most faithful versions of the Pheidian type.⁴⁸

The god wears a single garment, hung over one shoulder, and wears richly worked sandals. In his hands he seems to have carried a sceptre and a drinking-horn with a decorated top or lid. The sceptre is to be inferred from the position of the fingers of the hand found with the rest of the statue: the upper part of the drinking-horn was turned up in excavation. Beside him curled up a gigantic serpent. The draped portion of the statue together with its roughly pebbled plinth are cut from a single piece of marble; the head and nude torso form a second piece; the join between the two parts was concealed by the edge of drapery. The snake was cut separately and set in place.

The material is (as far as I can judge) Pentelic marble. It is very finely crystallized and has taken on a beautiful rich golden-brown patina. The two pieces have not weathered equally, which may easily be due to the fact that they did not lie together in the ground.

Among details of execution it is particularly worthy of notice that, though the chiselling of the nude portions shows comparatively little vigor and life, the upturned "gutter" edges of the drapery are wonderfully crisp and sharp with deep hollowings-out of the channels. In fact, everywhere in the draped portion there is that freshness and fire, that endless changing of edge and surface which distinguishes original Greek work of the best periods from the tranquil smoothness and comparative lifelessness of even the most conscientious Roman copy.

It is not in the least plausible to maintain that a copyist could have been so accurate in all the less popular elements of the post-Pheidian style. The very things to which the ordinary museum-goer objects

in this statue—its clumsiness, its lack of surface charm, its over-emphatic clarity of line and surface—are also the very things which a Roman copyist would have altered or toned down. But the chief reason for believing the statue to be an original is the complete absence of any reason for supposing the contrary.⁴⁹

It was, perhaps, not the work of a leading sculptor and surely not cut by the chisel of Agorakritos himself; but it was made in the Attic workshops during the lifetime of Agorakritos and his colleagues, paid for by some Massiliote or Emporionite and (being made in two pieces for readier transportation) shipped to this little town in Spain, to become the ornament of its temple and the pride of its citizens.

If the Asklepios is an original from the last of the fifth century, imported from Athens, it is evident that Emporion must have been flourishing at this time. The Carthaginian shadow which eclipsed Mainake and dulled Hemeroskopeion scarcely cast a penumbra over Catalonia. Here in the north, apparently, the Greeks were safe,

Contra
Polyb.
III. 39

and here their commerce prospered. Yet I am much at loss to know in what that commerce could have dealt. The silver mines of Andalusia and Granada were shut to them, and Marseilles had eluded her Punic rivals by bringing tin from Brittany *via* the Bay of Biscay and a land-road through southern France, so that there can hardly be a question of a Catalonian trade in either of these metals. The Ampurian hinterland is fertile and pleasant enough, with no obvious difficulties of communication; but the inhabitants in those days were little civilised, with little to offer the Massiliote in exchange for his wares.⁶³

Plate XXV

And yet Emporion continued to grow, and by the Hellenistic period the town is clearly of moment and, by the evidence of her abundant coinage,⁵⁰ she is rich. Her houses were enlarged or rebuilt, to conform with the usual Hellenistic type, her streets were widened, her agora enlarged; new temples were erected, and new statues set up. A much-admired fragment of a post-Praxitelean statue, now in the Barcelona Museum, shows that the artistic tastes



A Marble Head from Emporion

and traditions of the town continued, and that the artistic *κοινή* of the Hellenistic world was spoken and understood on Spanish shores. Here, then, last and most fully, the Greek left his mark in Spain.

And lastly came the Romans, after Emporion had reached its prime; and the Hellenistic town, like Hellenistic towns in all the Mediterranean, adjusted itself to its new status without wholly losing the customs and memories of the vanished Hellenic years. No doubt it was better to belong to Rome than to Carthage; for Massilia had ever been a staunch friend to Rome, and when in 218 B.C. Hannibal held all the rest of Spain, Gnaeus Scipio was able to use Emporion as his base for a Roman counter-attempt, and thereby got foothold in Iberia. That, and the privileges of Marseilles, were not likely to be forgotten by Emporionites.

Polyb. III,
95; III. 76



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	<p data-bbox="280 275 933 729">It was a long time since the Phocaeans rode the Balearic surge and swung their ships around the windy tower of Hemeroskopeion, and I confess that these later days attract me less. I am ready to plead my task accomplished and to say that I have done what I could to make testimony where nearly all is dumb and, out of somewhat less than shadows, to conjure up the coming and the passing-away of the Greeks in Spain.</p> <p data-bbox="314 1278 933 1354"><i>“Explicit iste liber: scriptor sit crimine liber.”</i></p>
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APPENDICES

I. THE SITE OF HEMEROSKOPEION

(For the meaning of the name Ἡμεροσκοπεῖον, consult note 53 in the Commentary).

AVIENUS, our oldest source, makes no mention of Dianium. Strictly, he says no more than that Hemeroskopeion is somewhere near Ilerda (*quoque hic*) which was the first of the Iberian districts (*prima eorum civitas*) and lay south of Cape San Antonio (five miles east of Denia). This is to be inferred from the statement in Avienus that the sandy shores begin beyond Ilerda (*litus extendit dehinc steriles harenas*) and the fact that the Valencian shore is sandy as far east as the cape just mentioned. Of the actual site Avienus says that it is now desolate and marked by a lagoon or marsh (*nunc iam solum vacuum incolarum languido stagno madet*). As Schulten indicates, this remark cannot be ascribed to the Massilian original in whose time Hemeroskopeion was in full vigour, but only to Avienus himself or possibly to

O. M.
476-78

the late Greek versifier whom he seems to have translated. At Denia there is no sign of a marsh, nor, as ocular inspection will convince one, the least likelihood that a town around the foot of Denia hill could have become involved in marshland, since there is no river here to perform the transformation. Schulten, who clearly agrees in this opinion, offers the unlikely explanation that *stagnum* means the open sea and not a lagoon at all (p. 109, *significatque stagnum mare, nam stagnum ad oppidum Denia nullum est*). But it seems highly doubtful that Denia was already *vacuum incolarum* at the time Avienus wrote ("Floruit exēunte saeculo IV p. C."—Schulten) whereas Hemeroskopeion had almost certainly been destroyed for a long time. At Ifach, on the other hand, the *languidum stagnum* of Avienus still exists as a *salina* or basin of standing salt water in the very heart of the site assumed for the ancient town. This salt *stagnum* is the remnant of the old harbor which has been silted up; and this process of silting must have already advanced considerably in Avienus' time some fifteen hundred years ago and nearly a thousand years after the founda-

Plate III

tion of the town. If we may take this as an indication of the rate of silting, the day when Ifach might have been an island (as Schulten would have it for Greek times) lies vastly further back in prehistoric periods.

Schulten claims the point of Ifach for one of the three islands referred to by Avienus in the words *litus hoc tres insulae cinxere late*,⁵¹ remarking "*hodie paeninsula tum insula.*" If I may venture an opinion in an alien field, it does not seem to me possible that Ifach could have been an island within historic times because,

(1) There is a line of reefs stretching along the south bay from the slope of Ifach to the left bank of the little stream which reaches the sea below Calpe (Pl. II and III). Alluvial deposits from this stream could fill the south bay and perhaps be carried through the only gap in the reef into the ancient harbor, now the salt pool; but they could not have had much effect in forming the large bar which borders the east bay and connects Ifach to the north with the mainland, since this bar is not a low flat of alluvial sand but the remnant of dunes and probably very old;

O. M.
461-62

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III. iv. 6	<p>(2) There are no streams emptying in or near the east bay. The configuration of the land in Greek times should therefore have been somewhat as shown by the accompanying sketch (Fig. 2).</p> <p>STRABO definitely identifies Hemeroskopeion with Dianium. Yet he says of it that it is well suited for pirates and is visible from a great distance to those sailing in its direction. This does not fit Denia at all, as the castle-hill is not a conspicuous object from the sea. It is, however, a perfect description of Ifach; for anyone coming south down the Spanish coast does not catch sight of it until he rounds Cabo de la Nao, but anyone coming north up the coast (<i>i. e.</i> "in its direction") sees it more than fifty miles away and keeps it as his most conspicuous landmark. The heights of Ifach, unscalable from the land, sheer and difficult from the sea, would be ideal for a pirate's stronghold, a natural place for that ὀρμητήριον of Sertorius, which Strabo localises at Hemeroskopeion. (In this connection it is interesting to note that Plutarch, in his Life of Sertorius, knows nothing of either Hemeroskopeion or Dianium.)</p>
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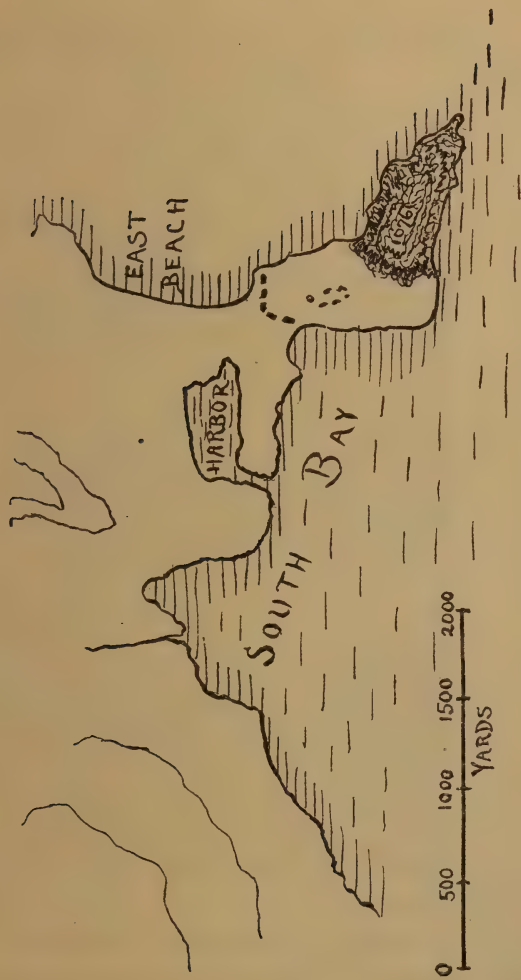


Figure 2. Conjectural Plan of Site of Hemeroskopeion.

But the whole passage in Strabo needs to be considered in greater detail:

After reaching Carthago Nova in his description, Strabo takes up the stretch of coast from Cartagena to the mouth of the Ebro and bisects it, observing that the River Sucron (now Jucar) empties at about the mid-point of this coast(which is wholly correct). Next he describes the southern section, saying that between the Jucar and Cartagena are three towns of the Massiliotes not very far from the river—*μεταξὺ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Σούκρωνος καὶ τῆς Καρχηδόνος τρία πόλινια Μασσαλιωτῶν ἔστιν οὐ πολὺ ἄπωθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ*. In view of the large sweep of such a method of narration, we can scarcely conclude that the three towns were at the very mouth of the Jucar, since in that case there would be little force in speaking of them as between the Jucar and Cartagena, especially as the next point to be mentioned is far down the coast below Alicante; nor can they be nearly as much as midway between these extremes since then there would be no force in saying that they were near the river. The coasting distance from river-mouth to Cartagena is about 140 nautical miles, so that the

stretch of coast lying between 20 and 60 miles from the Jucar would agree with the strict letter of the Strabonian passage. This gives us precisely the region of the Cape from about Denia (25 miles) to Calpe (50 miles) with the three ancient sites of Denia, Javea, and Ifach to assign as we choose. "Best known of these is Hemeroskopeion with a highly venerated shrine of the Ephesian Artemis on the height (ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκρᾷ)." It is highly tempting to think of the very end of the Cabo de la Nao⁵⁷ with its sheer cliffs and conspicuous Sunium-like situation as the site for this temple; but a visit to land's end convinced me that no temple was ever built on this headland. At Denia there are at present no traces of a temple of Artemis. The immured inscription which guide-books mention as coming from the ancient temple of Diana bears the words "sacred to Venus" (VENERI SACR) and there once was an inscription, now lost, which referred to the dedication of a temple or shrine to Jupiter, for whom the nearby mountain Mongó may possibly be named; but of Artemis or Diana no mention is extant, nor have amateur seekers, or the builders of houses ever

chanced upon the slightest trace of a temple-emplacement on the castle hill or below it. I emphasize this because it always seems to be assumed that Denia derived its name from such a sanctuary. But *Dianium* may be a Latinisation of the Iberic *Diniu* rather than vice versa. If any of the coins with the legend *Diniu* in Iberic letters can be proved to be pre-Roman, this would be established as certain, since obviously the name *Diniu* will not derive from the Greek form Ἀρτεμίσιον. At Ifach I do not believe that there ever was a temple on the great rock, but rather that its situation is to be sought either on the sloping ground beneath the tower (see the final paragraph of this appendix) or on the elevation marked "X" on Plate III. Strabo's account confuses in one the two noteworthy features of Hemeroskopeion, which were the sanctuary of Artemis and the great tower of rock.

Strabo goes on to say, "and Sertorius used this as his base of operation by sea," ὧ (sc. ἰερῶ or τῶ Ἡμεροσκοπείῳ) ἐχρήσατο Σερτώριος ὁρμητηρίῳ κατὰ θάλατταν, "for it is strong and sheer and fine for buccaneering, conspicuous from afar to those

that sail towards it," ἑρμυνὸν γὰρ ἔστι καὶ ληστρικόν, κάτοπτον δὲ ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῖς προσπλέουσι, and this, I am sure, can only be Ifach, a glorious stronghold for pirates and the most splendid landmark of the eastern Spanish coast.

Thereupon, scrambling his sources and reviewing rapidly the rest of the coast down to Cartagena, Strabo declares, "and it is also called Dianium, that is Artemision, with rich iron-mines nearby and the islands Planesia and Plumbaria and a landlocked sea fifty miles in circumference." These are easily identified as Isla Plana, Isla Grosa, and the Mar Menor; but they are miles away from Hemeroskopeion and do not help the problem. Still, Plana is at least in sight from Ifach, while it is very remote indeed from Denia.

Strabo categorically declares that Hemeroskopeion was also called Dianium, and there can be no doubt that the Dianium of Roman times is the Denia of to-day where Roman inscriptions are still to be seen with the epithets "Dianensi" and "Dianensium." But it is not therefore certain that Dianium and Denia are Hemeroskopeion, in spite of Strabo's belief that they were. (It should be remembered that Strabo had never been

Cf. Strabo
II. v. 11

to Spain.) It is worthy of particular remark that no Greek objects, no Greek potsherds, have ever been turned up at Denia whereas the soil on the slope of Ifach is full of Greek pottery fragments. The inference must be that Diniu was an old Iberian town which the Romans elevated to the chief place of the region after the final destruction of Hemeroskopeion, which very likely took place at Roman hands because of Sertorius' use of it as his stronghold. The subsequent confusion of Hemeroskopeion with Dianium would then be exactly comparable to that of Tartessos with Gades, and Mainake with Malaga.

The United States Navy Hydrographic charts, corrected to 1911, but based on Spanish maps, have a strange notation of "Ruins" and "Pillar" on the rising ground of the neck of land just beneath the great west cliffs of Ifach. The inference is clear that the maps ultimately hark back to a time when a Greek or Roman column was still standing and there were other traces of buildings. Excavation can soon decide what once was here. I submit, however, that there is already evidence enough to make us identify Ifach with Hemeroskopeion.

II. THE ORIGIN OF IBERIAN VASE DESIGNS

An excellent propaedeutic to the problem is an examination of the Elamite ware in the de Morgan Room of the Louvre from the site of pre-Persian Susa (fourth to third millenia B.C.), pre-dynastic Egyptian ware (from much the same period) and Coptic ware in the Cairo Museum (from the Christian centuries before the Arab conquest). All these show certain fundamental similarities to Iberian ware, which are important to establish because of the obvious certainty that there is no possible contact or connection. They are documents, therefore, to indicate that Iberian design moves at a familiar stage of artistic evolution which can be reached by a native art without outside influence. Upon this is grafted the Hellenic or Hellenistic strain, easily detected as belonging to a vastly more developed phase than the Iberian, which has to break it down in order to assimilate it. The "Mycenean echoes" in Iberian are simply parallels such as have just been adduced and prove nothing for any actual

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contact or surviving tradition. The more systematic records of modern excavation have long since driven the Myceneanists from the field.

To-day there is apparently no doubt about the general chronology of Iberian ceramics. Bosch and others have pointed out that the concomitants in finds of Iberian pottery are always Roman or late Greek, except that in the Elche region the accessories permit a date as early as the fifth century B.C. Here, at such a date, there are only two possible outside sources of influence, the Greek and the Punic. Which shall we admit, and how important shall we allow the influence to be?

Unfortunately we have a very incomplete acquaintance with Punic products, so that it is still theoretically possible to do as L. Siret did in an article in *l'Anthropologie* for 1907 and argue that the inspiration for the designs on Elche ware came from Carthage, while admitting that Carthage's own inspiration for her vase designs came from the Greeks. The question then becomes whether the Iberian designs are Greek at first hand or at second; and this may seem hard to decide, because the

Punic side of the case is largely an *argumentum ab ignotiore*.

The late date of production of most Iberian vases brings them in the time when the Punic hold upon Spain was stronger than the Greek. However, this proves nothing, and in favor of direct Greek inspiration it may be argued that:

(1) Greek vases were well known to the Iberians, since they are very generally found together with Iberian vases (even in the regions of Punic influence, as at Villaricos);

(2) The districts of the most undoubted Punic influence in the coastland of Andalusia and Granada seem to be among the poorest in producing painted vases, while Elche and the rest of Murcia where the art was most advanced were regions of indubitable contact with Greece, as this book has consistently shown (Cf. Bosch's map in *Memnon*, 1913, Pl. VII);

(3) Though the parallels with Greek vase designs are often inadequate, we have no reason for thinking that it would be possible to find such direct or such striking parallels in Punic art, since that art, as far as we know it to-day, was exceedingly

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<p>Plate XVII 1. 2. 5.</p>	<p>deficient in pictorial representations; and (4) It is not likely that the Elche painters with their patent interest in animal and plant designs would draw from the meagre Punic store when the wealth of Greek material was available to their use. Here it might be urged <i>per contra</i> that: (1) Iberian design agrees with Punic in minimising the very subject of greatest interest to Greek designers, the human figure in action. If the Iberian painters were using Greek prototypes, they could hardly have failed to try to imitate the human subjects there depicted; and (2) The commonest Greek ornament, the palmette, hardly ever occurs in Iberian designs. Yet observe that palmettes do occur, that they are always atrociously drawn or greatly broken down, that a crude substitute for the palmette almost invariably appears among the Iberian volutes at precisely the place where a palmette must have occurred in the Greek prototype, and that the true native Iberian decorative forms are all based on spirals and arcs. Perhaps we may reply, then, that: (1) Iberian craftsmen for the most part found the human figure too difficult and</p>
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therefore could not profit by Greek precedent here; and

(2) Iberian taste rejected the palmette because it disliked its careful symmetry, its difficult orderliness, and its lack of flow. We may note incidentally that the prevalence of *rinceanu* patterns in Iberian designs is a strong indication of a late (*i. e.* Hellenistic) date, after the palmette has begun to lose its popularity even in Greece. (The ivy-leaf on Iberian ware may come almost equally well from the later Hellenistic or from very early Ionian ware like the Ionian hydriae from Caere now in the Louvre, E 697-99).

The parallels which I have adduced on Plates XIV to XVII seem direct proof of Greek influence on Iberian work. They do not exclude the possibility that there was also Punic influence; but it is hard to see in what such influence might consist. Some of the parallels which have been drawn with vase-decorations from Carthage are inadequate, while others might equally well be claimed for Iberian exports or evidence of Iberian influence on Punic ware. The ordinary run of Punic pottery found at Carthage bears no testimony to a

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	<p>flourishing industry of vase-painting which could serve as a pattern to anyone. In short, the case for a Punic derivation of Iberian art is hopeless, and in general we may say of pre-Roman Iberian art that what is not Greek in it is due to native bent and power, and that what is not native is Greek.</p> <p>But the difficulty remains that the Greek parallels are either early or late, while the entire century from about 525 to 425 B.C. seems to have left no mark on Spanish design, in spite of the fact that it was one of the most flourishing and important epochs of Greek ceramic art. We cannot argue that the chief workshops of this particular century were Attic and that Athens sent no ships to Spain; because it is pretty clear that, by one carrier or another, Attic pots went everywhere. (G. M. A. Richter, in <i>Annual Brit. School Athens</i>, XI. 224—"The area over which these Attic vases were distributed comprises almost the whole of the world as known at that time.") The jumping hare on Plate XIV was certainly inspired very directly, almost plagiaristically, from some black-figure pot such as could hardly have come into Iberian hands</p>
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after the sixth century B. C.; while the style of the tendrils on Plate XV did not exist before the last of the fifth century, but is abundantly in evidence on South Italian ware of the fourth. And even if we plead that Attic ware was technically too difficult in its draughtsmanship to be imitated by the Iberian potters, yet we should expect some echo of it, however dampened, and in excavating Iberian sites we should find importations of these fifth century products; but, as far as I can discover, such has not been the case.

The most reasonable inference must be that there was a suspension of Greek trade in Murcia toward the later sixth century at the time that Tartessos and Mainake were destroyed and at the very time when, as the Ampurias finds indicate, Emporion was beginning to flourish. In that case the Lady of Elche causes difficulty (if the dating around 460-450 B.C. be accepted), unless she be claimed as the precursor of the returning Greek influence. That Massilia did reassert the Phocæan hold on the East Coast is indicated by the establishment of Alonæ, which does not exist in Avienus and therefore is a later settlement

than Hemeroskopeion. We may perhaps draw a parallel between Murcia and Sicily as areas of Greco-Punic strife. As Carthaginian power weakened in Spain, it retreated, leaving the Greeks free commercial access as far as Massia—which is seemingly how the agreement stands in Polybius' Second Treaty, dating presumably from the middle of the fourth century B.C. So that it seems fair to assert that the Greek influence in the Elche region must have been strong in the fourth century and that this is the chief formative period of the Elche School. This school in turn was the source of most of the developed Iberian pottery designs.

Accordingly, the solution which I have proposed in this book tries to reconcile the various difficulties by postulating a break of contact with Greek art during the latter sixth century B.C., a surviving tradition of the earlier Ionic vegetabiliar and beast art lingering among the native potters of the "Greek" coast, and a powerful recrudescence of Greek influence in the decadent days of Greek vase-painting when tendril and *rinceau* ornaments ran wild and dominated the restrained balance of earlier

Greek designs. These traditions survived in the industry of the Iberian potters through the period of greatest Carthaginian power in the later third century and lasted into Roman times, moving inland and northward from Murcia into Catalonia and the Numantian highland.

The evidence from the Cerro de los Santos sculptures must also be taken into account. There is the same indication of late sixth century influence,⁵⁸ followed by a break of contact—a contact which here, however, is not re-established until Roman times. The “Red Ridinghood” period must fall during a time of isolation after the Greek contact, and therefore most probably in the Hellenistic Age.

The appalling Isis and Osiris sculptures (so generally dismissed as forgeries) may belong to the early Roman period. In that case they suggest that the Iberian School had not prospered well when left so wholly to its own resources. (Compare the stagnation and atrophy at Santa Elena and San Esteban.)

Taking the evidence of pottery, sculpture, and architecture together, one is led to assert that the first Greek Period (sixth

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I. Figs 120–
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	<p>century B.C.) penetrated inland—though we do not know how long it took to do so—while the second Greek period (450–250 B.C.) as far as monumental art was concerned, touched only the seaboard, and as far as pottery was concerned, exercised an influence which spread slowly into the interior of the land. The Roman domination was apparently not hostile to the Greco-Iberian and native Iberian artistic traditions, but naturally modified and at last supplanted them.</p> <p>III. A VASE-FRAGMENT FROM EMPORION</p> <p>The vase-fragment on Plate XXI was discovered in the course of excavations on the site of the old Massilian town of Emporion and is at present exhibited in the Barcelona Museum. It is obviously a piece of red-figured Attic ware of the severe style from the hand of one of the masters. It can be shown beyond doubt that this master was Makron.</p> <p>The fragment, which comes from a kylix, shows a <i>komos</i> of three girls. The first, seated on the left, is playing a lyre. She faces a central figure who stands with a pair of flutes in her left hand, with her right</p>
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hand raised in the gesture commonly used for a flower or *taenia*, though here the object itself is invisible. This second girl stands back to back with a third on the right of the fragment, who must have originally paired with a lost fourth figure toward whom she is slowly moving. The three apparently are dressed in sleeved *chiton* with *himation* thrown over the left shoulder. The drawing of these garments, as indeed of the fragment throughout, is very fine, being done with extraordinary delicacy and sureness in clear firm lines of luminous black.

A kylix in the Metropolitan Museum in New York is closely related to this Ampurias fragment. Illustrations of this kylix may be found in the *American Journal of Archaeology* for 1917 (Plates 1-3) and in volume II of J. C. Hoppin's *Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases* (Harvard University Press, 1919). The interior (*AJA*, 1917, Plate 1; Hoppin, II, p. 68) shows a man standing before a seated woman. To the latter I would draw particular attention, because so many of the details of draughtsmanship agree exactly with the flute girl on the Ampurias fragment.

Both have the same puff of hair on the forehead, the same small delicately scrolled ear, the same carriage of the head on tilted neck. Lower, a great number of parallel vertical and nearly straight lines indicates the *chiton*, through which both breasts are visible, the left one slightly misplaced in drawing. The method of indicating the right hand, with its waving interior-line corresponds closely; and the right fore-arms, bent at the elbow, are nearly identical.

On the exterior of the Metropolitan kylix (*AJA*, 1917, Plates 2 and 3; Hoppin, II, 69) the face of the maiden ΠΕΛΕΑ resembles that of the lyre player on the Ampurias fragment in its pointed nose, pendant lower lip, and round, rather heavy chin. The maiden ΝΑΥΚΛΕΑ is reminiscent of the flute player in various details, notably in the hanging sleeve of the *chiton* and the rounded curve of the edge of the *himation* beside it.

The Metropolitan kylix has for signature ΗΙΕΡΟΝ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ incised on the handle, and is almost universally accepted as the work of the painter Makron.

The next best parallel to the Ampurias fragment is to be found in the Louvre

(G 143; illustrated in Hoppin, II, pp. 74-75). It is a kylix, with the same incised signature of Hieron on the handle. Here will be found parallels for many of the details of dress, particularly the wavelike panel folds on the *himation* fronts and the heavily looped *chiton* sleeves at the elbows.

It was of this painter Makron that Beazley wrote, with his usual pointed brevity, "His men and youths are less interesting than his women. Indeed, the signal beauty of his drawing resides in his women's clothes." (J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums*, Harvard University Press, 1918, p. 102.)

Nothing could better illustrate this "signal beauty of drawing" than our disregarded and almost unknown fragment from Ampurias. It ranks with the best among all that is listed in Hoppin's or Beazley's authoritative collections of the work of Makron. And when it is further observed that its nearest relative, the Metropolitan kylix (which in my opinion it excels in beauty) is singled out by Beazley as "the best of his many cups with simple conversation scenes," it should be clear that this little find from Emporion with its marvel-

lous accuracy, its freshness and delicacy and charm, must take its place among the best surviving works of one of the great masters of the hey-day of Attic vase-painting.

COMMENTARY

1. Cf. Avienus, *Ora Maritima*, 127-29:
obire semper huc et huc ponti feras,
navigia lenta et languide repentia
internatare beluas.
and vv. 410-11:
vis beluarum pelagus omne internatat
multusque terror ex feris habitat freta.
2. G. G. King, *The Way of St. James*, Book III, ch. vi.
3. The best evidence for this is Avienus, 113:
Tartessiisque in terminos Oestrumnidum
negotiandi mos erat,
on which Schulten remarks in his edition of Avienus (p. 81, *ad loc.*) "Hic versus, qui summi momenti est, testatur Tartessios in Oestrymnin navigasse, scilicet stanni causa. . . . Videntur igitur primi Tartessii oceanum temptasse, non Phoenices et multo minus Carthaginienses, qui post Tartessum demum deletam oceanum adire poterant."
4. On the *-ussa* endings cf. Schulten, *Avienus*, *ad* v. 148 and his *Tartessos*, p. 28.
5. Bosch, *Ensayo Etnologia*, p. 88 n.
6. Avienus, 150; Hdt. I. 166; Scymn. 168, 196; Pliny III. 75, and the note to Avien. 150, on p. 84 of Schulten's edition, whence these references are borrowed.
7. Schulten's *Avienus*, p. 84 *ad*. v. 148.
8. The antiquities of Ibiza have been extremely well classified and published by

A. Vives, *Estudio de Arqueología Cartaginesa: la Necrópoli de Ibiza*, a work which may be accepted as authoritative. In using the material one must be careful not to mistake crudity for antiquity in provincial Punic. For my position on the late date of Punic colonisation of the island: "en cuanto a Ibiza, falta por completo lo que se refiere a vasos importados anteriores a los italogriegos" (i.e. before 600 B.C.) (Vives, p. xxix). Protocorinthian vases are spoken of as "faltando completamente en Ibiza" (p. 113) yet "se encuentran con relativa abundancia en las necrópolis de la primera época de Cartago" and there "se fechan entre los siglos viii al vi." There are no funerary stelae or sepulchral epigraphs in Punic writing on the island (p. xix). The archaic material is as often Greek as Punic in origin, and proves only *cabotage*. For Sardinia cf. Patroni, *Nora*, in *Mon. Ant. Linc.*, XIV (1904), and the article *s.v.* in Pauly-Wissowa.

9. There is a good article on *Carthago Nova* in Pauly-Wissowa.
10. It is possible that Abdera near the modern Almeria was also a Phocaeen settlement, though I am not confident that there is evidence to prove this as "impérieusement" as Reinach insists (*Rev. Et. Gr.*, 1898, pp. 54-55). For Schulten's identification of the site of Mainake, see *Arch. Anz.*, 1922, pp. 30-37, with the sketch-map there.

11. Because it is mentioned in Avienus, whose original cannot antedate 530 B.C. (See Schulten's introduction to his edition.)
12. A. Schulten, *Tartessos*, Hamburg, 1922. Do not fail to consult also *Arch. Anz.*, 1922, pp. 18 ff, and 1923-24, pp. 1-10, with the sketch-map, indicating that Tartessos lies buried under river-sand.
13. Isaiah 2. 16; I Kings 22. 48; 10. 22; Ezek. 27. 12; Jerem. 10. 9. See Schulten's *Avienus*, pp. 127-29, and his *Tartessos*.
14. Strabo's tradition must refer to the Carthaginian destruction of Tartessos about 500 B.C. and to the Punic aggression upon the south coast at this time. To refer it back to true Phoenician days (as Schulten does) and to assume an earlier conquest of Tartessos is a gratuitous complication, in itself highly improbable. Phoenicians and Carthaginians are not clearly kept apart in ancient record. It seems to me possible that the original of Avienus did try to distinguish the two, calling the Carthaginians Libyphoenices; but Schulten (*Avienus*, p. 29) declares, "Hic inter Libyphoenices et Phoenices discrimen nullum nisi nomine fuisse videtur." It is hardly possible that Strabo should make a distinction that was already blurred in the time of the Massiliot sailing-book.
15. Schulten explains the presence of the Phocaeans in the Tagus mouth by making them portage thence overland to Mainake by a land road, after they had been shut

out from the city of Tartessos by the Carthaginians. This may of course have been the case; but in general I should hesitate to take the Phocaeans far from the sea and their ships, and should prefer to leave portages and pack-trains to the indigenes.

16. Schulten's *Avienus*, p. 11.
17. This is Schulten's inference from Avienus, 178-82.
18. For example, Babelon, *Cat. Bronzes Bib. Nat.*, Nos. 206, 265, 266; Athens, *Nat. Mus.*, 7541 (de Ridder, *Cat. Bronzes Soc. Arch.* Pl. III, 880) for the raised right hand; de Ridder, *Cat. Bronzes Acrop. Ath.*, p. 299, Fig. 287, for the costume; Richter, *Metropolitan Mus. Bronzes*, No. 56, for an Etruscan version of a similar theme. For the general style of figurine see the bronze statuette in *Arch. Anz.*, 1922, p. 65, No. 7, and its connection with the Ionic Greek as discussed in the text there-to.
19. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, I, p. 205; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, I, p. 433. There seems nowadays to be fairly general agreement on the correctness of this date.
20. To me at least it seems certain that Callipolis and Tarragona are one and the same. The Roman Avienus, unaware of their identity, put in Tarragona and Barcelona from his own knowledge without venturing to say anything further about Tarragona—which would imply an amazing omission on the part of the Massiliot

sailing-book had this not just described Tarragona under the name Callipolis. The great walls, the fishy marsh on either side, the mention immediately after Salauris (which must lie on Cape Salou) fit Tarragona perfectly and seem to me a conclusive indication. It is embarrassing to differ herein from the brilliant editor of Avienus. Bosch, however, shares my opinion.

21. *Insederant* in Avien., 464, is a pluperfect and ought therefore to reflect a past tense in the Massiliot original, in whose day consequently the Iberians have already dispossessed the Gymnetes. These have moved over to Ibiza, though the tradition of their previous sojourn on the opposing mainland still lives on in the "old name" of the land "as far as the Sicanus basin"—

"post haec per undas insula est Gymnesia
populo incolarum quae vetus nomen dedit
Sicani ad usque praefluentis alveum."

(*Ora Marit.*, 467-69.)

Schulten is not justified in transposing this last line elsewhere, since it does very well where he found it. If one overlooks the tense of *insederant* and the force of *vetus nomen*, one is bound to accuse Avienus of direct self-contradiction and to write as Schulten does, "Contra scilicet insulam Ebusum sedebant Hiberi. . . . Incipere videntur Hiberi a flumine Sicano," although both of these statements cannot simultaneously be true. As I read

Avienus, the kingdom of Tartessos ends near Alicante with the ancient Herna *civitas* (*i. e.* not merely a town, but a district or region). Coterminous with this is the first Iberian *civitas* Ilerda, covering the tract of sandy beaches from the Cabo de las Huertas to the rocky shores of the Cabo de la Nao. After the cape-land comes the *Sicana civitas*, *propinquo ab amni sic vocata*: thereafter, not far (*neque longe*) from this river's mouth is Tyris, near or at the present city of Valencia. Lest I seem to be stretching unduly the propinquity in *propinquo ab amni*, it is to be noted that *neque longe* actually represents more than 20 miles: "near" and "far" are relative to the scale on which one is working. See also Note 51.

22. For the ethnography of early Spain and the clear differentiation of the Tartesso-Iberian coastal civilisation from the Celtic type of the elevated interior, there are no better sources of information than Bosch, whose work in this field is of the highest order. See particularly his *Ensayo de una Reconstrucción*, etc. Apparently the Carthaginian encroachment and pressure from the south occasioned a gradual Tartesso-Iberian penetration of the interior, so that the Celtic civilisation became Iberianised and finally became the last stronghold of Iberianism after the coast had succumbed to Punic and Roman aggression. Celts and Iberians are of course neither of them autochthonous, but in-

vaded Spain, the one certainly from the north and in historic times, the other probably from the south and at a much earlier period. The earlier people whom these dispossessed are to be found as remnants in the mountainous and wilder parts of the land. Of these, the Basques may be a sole living survivor in our times.

23. Siret, *Villaricos y Herrerias*, Madrid, 1909, pp. 436 ff.—“Sean Tirios o Cartagineses los mercaderes de cuentecitas de pasta esmaltada. . . . la influencia fenicia se reducía a la introducción de unos cuantos artículos de comercio insignificantes. . . . Esto era en el siglo vii en la costa SE de España, enfrente y cerca del Africa y en el mas importante de los distritos argen-
tíferos de la Peninsula, uno de los mas codiciados por los Fenicios y de ellos conocido anteriormente. . . . Durante el apogeo de la fortuna de Tiro, el Sud de España era puramente celtiberico (or rather Massian-Tartessian, as the Celtic invasion did not take place until about 500 B.C. and properly affected the North of the peninsula only) sin rastro alguno de influencia ni dominación fenicias. A la misma conclusion lleva el estudio de la edad del bronce. . . . (Therefore, thinks Siret) las tradiciones relativas a la dominación fenicia, de cuya realidad no es permitido dudar, se refieren a los tiempos anteriores a la edad del bronce y a la fundación de Gadir.” (This is to draw quite the wrong conclusion from the evidence.

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	<p>It is better to recognise the "<i>mirage phénicien</i>" for what it is, than to pursue it empty into the desert of prehistory.)</p> <p>24. Good reproductions of the Lady of Elche and necessary information are most conveniently found in the <i>Monuments Piot</i>, Vol. IV, 1897; P. Paris, <i>Essai</i> I, pp. 279-300. Pls. I, XII; P. Paris, <i>Prom. Arch.</i>, I, pp. 79-88, Pl. XVIII.</p> <p>25. Since the argument is scarcely in place I must content myself with recording the opinion that the "Bluebird" priestess sarcophagus relief in the Carthage Museum and at least one of her fellows were the work of Sicilian Greeks employed in Carthage, just as the Carthaginian coins were so often the work of Sicilian die-cutters. If one asks why the Lady of Elche cannot be classed with the "Bluebird" lady and both claimed as Punic art, the reply is that Carthage did not accept the Greek style until the end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century, and the Lady of Elche is based on an earlier phase of Greek art. What happened in Carthage then had already happened in south-eastern Spain nearly a century earlier. In architecture, the Sicilian Doric order of the Numidian Médracen may be taken as a reflection of the Punic style of the fourth century B.C.</p> <p>26. P. Paris, <i>Essai</i>, I, pp. 162-258; <i>Prom. Arch.</i>, I, pp. 45-71.</p> <p>27. Paris, <i>Essai</i>, I. Pl. VII; <i>Prom. Arch.</i>, I, Pl. X.</p>
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28. The rayed sun-face and the crescent moon occur as symbols on several of the Punic stelae in Room I of the Musée Alaoui (Bardo), Tunis. The crescent moon with profile face recurs on the Iberian coins of Saetabis (as Paris points out, *Essai*, II, p. 292, n. 3) while the rayed full face is used on the coins of Emporion or Rhode (J. Botet, *Les Monedes Catalanes*, p. xl., n. 1).
29. A good and very interesting parallel in Copenhagen (Glyptotek Ny Carlsberg, No. 554 a; illustrated *Oest. Jhf.*, XIX, 1919, p. 217, Fig. 144) shows a cuirass with hippocamps with looped tails and dolphin-forks, and over these a full-face Medusa with snakes knotted under her chin; there are tendril-arabesques below the sea-beasts. A sea-dragon occurs on the cuirassed statue in the National Museum in Athens (No. 1644). For a poor parallel on Spanish soil, cf. the statue in Seville in Arndt-Amelung *Einzelaufnahmen*, No. 1821.
30. A Triton with looped tail and dolphin-fork occurs as a decorative element on the carved marble mantle from Lykosura in the group by Damophon (Nat. Mus. Athens). The Hippocamp is of course as old as Greek art; but the form of it on the Iberian panel seems derived from the Hellenistic type of sea-monster, which continued in favor into Imperial Roman times. (A more accurate stylistic identification might be useful). The natural-

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	<p>istic ram, whatever he may mean and in spite of his resemblance to the Order of the Golden Fleece, also looks as though he had been borrowed from the Roman repertory.</p> <p>31. A poor sketch in Paris, <i>Essai</i>, I, p. 259, Fig. 295. On the original stone the navel shows clearly, as is usual on Roman corslet statues; and the straps and fringes (at the left of the illustration) are clearly distinguishable from the grooved folds of the corslet (centre right). It is this three-corded fringe terminating a strap in Roman fashion to which Paris is referring in <i>Essai</i>, I, p. 304, where he says, "à droite on voit encore sur l'étoffe une sorte d'applique en forme de trident, dont je ne reconnais pas l'usage." For the hanging strap with fringe cf. the corsleted torso in Pola illustrated <i>Oest. Jhf.</i>, XIX, 1919, p. 241, Fig. 169, and for this whole subject of corslet-statues, Hekler's <i>Beitrag zur Geschichte der antiken Panzer-statuen</i>, <i>ibid.</i>, pp. 190-241. The corsleted fragment from Elche now in the Louvre (<i>Essai</i>, I, p. 303, Fig. 307) also seems to have been borrowed from Roman Imperial styles; but this is less demonstrable.</p> <p>32. Bosch, <i>Prehist. Cat.</i>, p. 215; J. Botet, <i>Les Monedes Catalanes</i>, pp. xlix-lxxi.</p> <p>33. Bosch, <i>Prehist. Cat.</i>, p. 279, "La civilització ibèrica de l'interior sembla que subsisteix en els primers temps de l'ocupació romana," as is proved by the occurrence together of Iberian pottery with</p>
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Roman *terra sigillata* in a dozen places in the Urgell region and at Serra Mitjana in the province of Tarragona. Cf. Bosch, *Zur Frage*, etc.

34. Bosch in *Annuari del Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, V (1913-14), pp. 856 ff.

35. See Bibliography.

36. There is an Iberian fragment from Ampurias which seems to contradict this statement. The Cazurro vase (*Annuari*, 1908, p. 551; *Bull. Hisp.*, 1911, Pl. I; *Arch. Anz.*, 1912, p. 437, Fig. 33; *Rev. Arch.*, 1917, I, p. 113; Paris, *Prom. Arch.*, II. Pl. XXXIII) shows an animated hunting scene with brilliant and vigorous action of human figures. The prototype of this is not Attic, however, but clearly and easily to be detected in such a parallel as the Caeretan hydria with Herakles' Busiris adventure (Furt.-Reich., Pl. 51, and the illustrations in the corresponding text). The five negroes here echo the loincloth costume and the spacing of figures on the Cazurro vase, as the little hunting scene on the band below echoes the similarly animated one on the Cazurro vase. It is highly interesting that Furtwaengler (text to Pl. 51, on p. 257) postulated Phocaeen artists for the Caeretan hydriae, as did Duemmler, R.M. 1888, 179.

37. Iberian kylices, based on Greek prototypes, have been found at Tarragona, in Aragon (La Gessera), Catalonia, and elsewhere. When datable, they nearly always belong in the third century B.C. (Bosch, *Prehist. Cat.*, pp. 256, 274, and 278).

38. For the buried dart cf. *Milet*, III, p. 154, Fig. 42 (an archaic basis of old but uncertain date); *Sardis*, I, p. 77, Fig. 74; the capital in the British Museum from the old Artemis temple at Ephesos; also, the overturned leaves of the Delphi capitals (*A.J.A.*, 1923, pp. 165-67) probably from the treasury of Massilia; and the early-Ionic ovolos of Persepolis. For the corner volute of the Louvre fragment cf. *Milet*, III, p. 151, Fig. 38 (where the corner of the ovolo is formed by a palmette with a similar volute at the top) and the Didymaion anta-cap (Noack, *Baukunst des Altertums*, Pl. 44a). For the widely overhanging profile of the Madrid fragment cf. the Cadacchio moulding in Corfu (Perrot and Chipiez, VII, Fig. 248) which probably dates from the sixth century B.C.
39. There is an interesting Iberian column base in the Madrid Archaeological Museum—a square plinth surmounted by a shallow scotia and a torus much like an inverted Tuscan-Doric capital. I do not know any parallel for this; but it is perhaps worth noticing that bases which resemble inverted archaic Doric capitals occur also in Etruria (*e. g.* the Orvieto base, Martha, *L'Art Etrusque*, Fig. 131). The profile certainly forces us to assume Greek influence, but of what date or locality I cannot say.
40. The excavation of Emporion has been carried on by the Barcelona Museum, and in that Museum most of the finds are to be

seen. But there is also a little local museum at San Martin; some objects found at Ampurias in earlier days are now in the museums at Gerona and at Vich; and there are also a few things in private possession. The site of Emporion may be visited without particular difficulty, and constitutes a repaying excursion.

41. For such a plan see *Annuari*, VI (1915-20), and the individual house plans such as Fig. 533 in that volume. (Cf. also *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 1909, and *Rev. Arch.*, 1916, II, p. 342.)
42. *Annuari*, II, 1908, pp. 195-240, Frickenhaus, Griechische Vasen aus Emporion.
43. We may readily see what this pose becomes under Praxitelean influence by consulting the Asklepios in the Athens National Museum (No. 266, illustrated *Ath. Mitth.*, XVII, 1892, Pl. II). The connection of this with the earlier Ampurias type is apparent in the drapery, since the same catenaries loop over the right leg and very much the same mass of drapery hangs from the left arm-pit. There are in the same museum a number of other Asklepios statuettes from the Hieron of Epidauros which show that this Polykleitanised pose had supplanted the earlier one throughout Hellenistic and Roman times, and this alone makes it highly unlikely that the out-of-mode Pheidian pose would ever have been resuscitated for a cult statue in these later times. A close parallel to the Ampurias

Asklepios occurs on the "Bendis" decree heading (Arndt, *Ny Carlsberg*, Pl. 88) from the Piraeus, in which the "Asklepios" has a Parthenon-frieze type of head (the whole figure might almost have stepped out of the east frieze); but the drapery is more fluent, the style easier, and the pose Polykleitanised, so that it is clearly a later version of the same traditional type. The archon's name in the inscription dates this relief 329-328 B.C.

44. Athens, National Museum, Nos. 208-13; illustrated Brunn-Bruckmann, Pl. 464.
45. British Museum, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, Pl. 30, No. 1. Cf. also Nos. 49 and 52 on Pl. 38.
46. B.M., *Sc. of the Parth.*: west 23 (Pl. 69); north 112 and 121 (Pls. 56 and 58) for a yet sketchier manner. Conze, *Att. Grabreliefs*: No. 1210 (Pl. 267) for the unlinear pebbled texture; No. 1264 (Pl. 272) for the roughly picked style. Cf. Brunn-Bruckmann, Pl. 464, lower right. Nothing could be more impressionistic than the hair of the Parthenon-frieze head (*Tête Coulouche*) acquired by the Louvre in 1916.
47. Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 362. For the treatment of the back hair of the Asklepios cf. the elder leaning on his staff on the Parthenon east frieze (No. 46).
48. For cheeks, eyes, and forehead, cf. the very battered head of the elder crowning himself on the Parthenon north frieze (B.M. *Sc. Parth.*, No. 38). The Boston

Zeus head, Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 572. A somewhat later version of the Ampurias type has turned up in the Moscow Historical Museum (J.H.S., 1924, Pl. I). This head has the same claim to being an original marble as the Ampurias Asklepios. Olbia and Emporion both evidently imported these cult-statues from Greece. A comparison of the two heads is an interesting comment on the stylistic changes in the ateliers during an interval of some 50 years.

49. I have been unable to control the statement in *Annuari*, IV, p. 308, "en el sol sobre que s'aixeca. l podium d'aqueix edicul, s'hi trobarea fragments de ceramica grega del segle iv." Cf. Paris in *Rev. Arch.*, 1916, II, p. 348, for a different version which would prove the podium at least as old as the fourth century B.C.
50. See Bibliography, and especially J. Botet. I have not mentioned in the text the Greek town of Rhode which lay opposite Emporion on the north shore of the same deep bay (which owes its modern name of Golfo de Rosas to the tradition of this town). There is no connection between Rhode and the Rhodians, since the town is clearly an off-shoot of Emporion. The coins suggest that it was rich and flourishing; but tentative excavations by the Barcelona Museum have not yielded much.
51. "*Litus hoc tres insulae cinxere late*" (Avien., 461). Schulten (*comm. ad loc.*)

spreads these three islands along more than fifty miles of coast by identifying them with Plana (which is not a single island) Benidorm and the headland of Ifach ("hodie paeninsula tum insula"). But *late*, as in v. 471 and often in the Ora Maritima, more probably means "far out from land," in which case the three islands are very simply to be discovered in the conspicuous Islas Planas (shown on the chart as Tabarca Island, Nao Island, and the West Reef) which "gird wide the coast" at precisely the region reached by Avienus in his description. (This is also the opinion of the editor of Murray's Classical Maps, *Hispania*). If this be accepted, *Herna civitas* and the *terminus quondam Tartessiorum* can scarcely be pushed further north than Alicante, especially as the Vinalapo River is mentioned immediately afterward. The ancient seat of the Balearic Gymnetes will then have lain between Elche and the Sicanus, between Tartessian and Iberian domain. I add the whole relevant passage from Avienus:

- 456 Theodorus illic. . . .
 459 prorepat amnis. ista Phoenices prius
 loca incolebant. rursus hinc se litoris
 fundunt harenæ et litus hoc tres insulae
 cingere late. hic terminus quondam stetit
 Tartessiorum, hic Herna civitas fuit.
 Gymnetes istos gens locos insederant,
 465 nunc destitutus et diu incolis carens
 sibi sonorus Alebus amnis effluit.
 post hæc per undas insula est Gymnesia,
 populo incolarum quæ vetus nomen dedit
 Sicani ad usque præfluentis alveum,

470 Pityussae et inde proferunt sese insulae
Baliari[car]um (ac) late insularum dorsa sunt.
et contra Hiberi in usque Pyrenae iugum
ius protulere. . . .

(Note that the MS. reading of line 469 is "ad usque cani prae fluentis alveum," so that it may be an error to bring the Sucro into the argument here.) If 470-71 are interpolations or accretions, as seems likely, *contra* in 472 may refer either to *insula Gymnesia* or *Sicani alveum*: but the former interpretation seems to me preferable. In that case, the Iberian frontier may fall close to Hemeroskopeion, (the older Gymnetes having been pushed out or absorbed).

52. P. Paris has consistently tended to call it a Greek original.
53. In ch. 6 of Aeneas Tacticus, *Hemeroskopeia* (Ἡμεροσκοπεῖα) are the lookout-posts used by scouts or lookout-guards (ἡμεροσκόποι). Such *hemeroskopoi*, according to Aeneas, should be stationed "on a high spot, visible from the greatest distance" (χρὴ δὲ καὶ ἡμεροσκόπους πρὸ τῆς πόλεως καθιστάναι ἐπὶ τόπῳ ὑψηλῷ καὶ ὥς ἐκ πλείστου φαινομένῳ. ch. 6. 1). This indication fits the high and conspicuous rocky tower of Ifach singularly well. The word ἡμεροσκόπος, in this sense, is an old one and occurs in Herodotus (vii. 183. 192. 219), Aeschylus (*Sept.*, 66), and Sophocles (*Ant.*, 253). In Herodotus vii, 183 and 192, *hemero-*

skopoi are posted on the heights of the Euboean mountains to observe the movements of the Persian fleet. The force of the first element *hemero-* in the word is apparent from this same passage: in antiquity there were night-watchers who signaled news from mountain-top to mountain-top by means of beacon fires (*διὰ πυρσῶν*), and day-watchers, *hemeroskopoi*, who were ordinary posted look-outs. The conclusion from all these passages is that *ἡμεροσκοπεῖον* is the normal word for a high point of vantage used as an observation-post or lookout, whether dominating the land or the sea. Its appropriateness to Ifach is very striking: indeed, I have never seen another point in the Mediterranean which could so suitably bear the name.

54. The evidence of Stesichoros (*apud Strabonem*, III. 2. 11) is not negligible. He knew that the silver mines were at the headwaters of the Guadalquivir, for he speaks of the "limitless silver-rooted fountains of the Tartessos River" (*Ταρτησσοῦ ποταμοῦ παρὰ παγὰς ἀπείρονas ἀργυρορίζους*). Presumably he derived (ultimately) this information from Phocaeen sources. As he was writing about the year 600 B.C., his chronological confirmation of Greek familiarity with the Tartessian mines at this period is welcome and valuable.
55. Description of fragment of architectural moulding: Height of taenia, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch; of

bead and reel, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches; of ovolo, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches; spacing, dart to dart, *ca.* 6 inches. The material is apparently coarse local limestone. The top surface of the stone above the taenia is dressed and fairly smooth, but shows neither setting-line nor dowel marks. The back is rough and apparently broken. The work is throughout very irregular and inaccurate. Note that on Plate XVIII the elevation is not strictly horizontal, so that it does not measure up exactly with the profile.

56. For the Javea gold-find see Mérida, El tesoro ibérico de Javea, in *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 1906.
57. The Lacinian Promontory in Magna Graecia is still called Capo delle Colonne or Capo di *Nau*, which seems a plausible remnant of *ναοῦ*. By inference I was led to assume a similar etymology for the Cabo de la Nao, taking the Spanish *nao* ("ship") as a *Volksetymologie*. The suggestion remains attractive, even though I was unable to find traces of a temple about or below the modern lighthouse on the Spanish promontory.
58. Lest it be overlooked through being too well known, I call attention here to Paris' list of archaic Greek bronze figurines found in the Phocaeen "track." (*Essai*, I, Figs. 86-90). From Majorca there is the Vives Athena Promachos. From the Llano de la Consolación, 40 miles inland from Alicante, comes the ithyphallic silenos of the Louvre, sixth century Greek

work of fine quality. From Rollos, near Caravaca, Province of Murcia, fully 50 miles inland from Elche, comes the centaur of the Madrid Museum, also sixth century Greek. The little pair of heraldic monsters in Elche (*Essai*, I, Fig. 79) may be the handle attachment of an archaic Campanian bronze hydria of the sort found at Cumae and Capua and illustrated in Déchelette, *Man. Arch. Préh. Celt.*, II,² Fig. 307, in which case it is of Greek workmanship and presumably was brought by the Phocaeans over the island bridge. Of unknown provenance is the little "Hera" with the pomegranate, which is certainly Greek and perhaps Samian (*Essai*, I, Figs. 82-83). In stone there are the two sphinxes of Agost, an inland spot almost equidistant from Elche and Alicante. These are clear reflections of the sixth century Ionic type and may be compared with the sphinx from Cyprus published in *B.C.H.*, 1894, Pl. VII, pp. 316-22 and classed as Ionic. Lastly, there is the throned woman in the Louvre from the Llano de la Consolación, so reminiscent of the Milesian Branchidae type (*Essai*, I, Fig. 296). There is other material about, though not very accessible, and more will in time come out of the earth; but these are enough to prove the reality of the Ionian presence on the shoreland of Murcia and Alicante during the sixth century B.C. It is interesting that there are no fifth century finds.

The famous "Vicha de Balazote," now in Madrid (Paris, *Essai*, I, Pl. IV) is not "Asiatic," but closely modelled on the man-headed bull type which the Greeks of the sixth century used for river-gods. The curl of the tail, the bend of the legs, the overlaying of mustache on beard, are readily paralleled in archaic Sicilian Greek. Balazote is far inland, near the head-waters of a tributary of the Jucar.

59. An indifferent photograph of Denia may be found in Paris, *Essai*, I, p. 105.
60. Pindar, *Ol.* iii, 44-45; *Nem.* iii, 20-26; iv. 69; *Isth.* iii, 30-31, Frg. 256.
61. Déchelette, *Man. Arch. Préh. Celt.*, II,² pp. 582-83, insists that the Rhone Valley was not an important avenue of Greek trade until Ligurian control was replaced by the Celtic invasion. If so, the Tartessian trade must have been much more important to the Phocaeans during the early sixth century B.C. than was the Massilian. The whole commercial aspect of the West changed before 500 B.C. The Spanish colonies lost their prime importance after Tartessos was closed and the Rhone Valley route opened to Greek trade.
62. In studying the ancient jewellery finds in Spain (notably that from Aliseda) and the gold ornaments indicated on the Lady of Elche and the Cerro de los Santos sculptures, I have been struck with the numerous parallels to gold-work from Etruscan tombs. The obvious inference that the ancient Spanish jewellery is

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	<p>Etruscan is very probably erroneous. Rather, one is tempted to suggest that much of the Etruscan goldwork was imported Phoenician, Cypriote, and Punic, just as the vases in the tombs were imported Greek. The whole question merits a monograph.</p> <p>63. Strabo (III. iv. 8) says, <i>λινουργοὶ δὲ ἱκανῶς οἱ Ἐμπορίται</i>, and we have references to the Esparto grass with which the inland plain was covered. This scarcely accounts for so great prosperity. Does the abundant coinage of Emporion and Rhode imply wealth from Pyrenean mines?</p> <p>64. Pausanias continues, "and they say that Norax was the son of Hermes and of Erytheia, Geryon's daughter." Erytheia and Geryon, if they mean anything, mean Tartessos. (Cf. Stesich. Fr. 5.)</p> <p>65. For sources of the material on this Plate, see "List of Illustrations" on pages 171-3.</p> <p>66. Kalkmann's <i>Die Proportionen des Gesichts in der griechischen Kunst</i> (Winckelmannsprogramm, 1893) discouraged rather than furthered anthropometry of statues; but recent work, like that of Caskey's on the Apollo of Tenea (AJA 1924) should restore confidence in the feasibility of such research. No one who understands the meaning of <i>κανών</i> and <i>συμμετρία</i> can doubt the use of a measured rule in the fifth century B.C.</p>
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The long article *Hispania* by Schulten in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopædie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (VIII, 1965-2046) is a storehouse of information. Schulten, however, has since modified his views on certain points and superseded portions of this article with his own *Avienus* and *Tartessos*.

There is also much to be derived from articles by Mélida and others in the *Revista de Archivos Bibliotecas y Museos* (Madrid).

I wish also to call particular attention to the newly founded *Butlletí de l'Associació Catalana d'Antropologia, Etnologia i Pre-historia* (Barcelona, Editorial Catalana) with its exhaustive current bibliographies on Ancient Spain.

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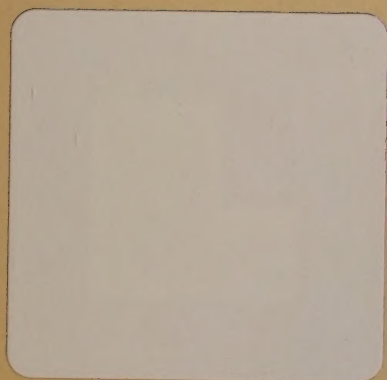
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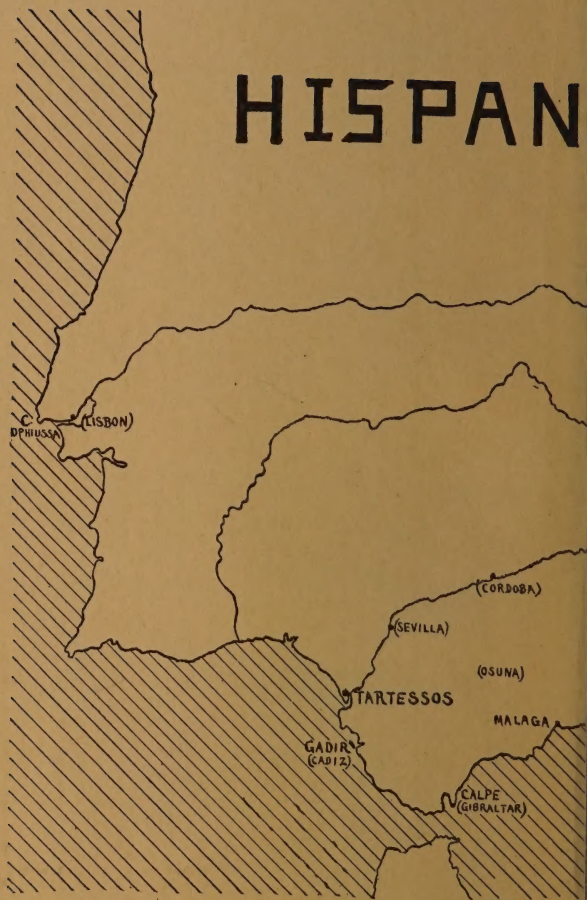
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